The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1929 No. 3344

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 129
EDITORIALS:
- Peace Pact and Disarmament..... 132
- Fashions in Food..... 133
- Panama Awaits the Ax..... 133
- This Lawless Nation..... 134

IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN..... 135
A LICENSE TO STEAL. By William C. Murphy, Jr..... 136
THE CHINESE AND THE CHINESE EASTERN. By E. K. Moy.. 138
THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CHINESE EASTERN. By Harold Kellock 140
VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON. By Russell Blankenship..... 141
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter..... 143
CORRESPONDENCE 143
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE..... 144
BOOKS AND DRAMA:
- Fiddler's Green. By Audrey Wurdemann..... 145
- Loneliness. By Eda Lou Walton..... 145
- Mary Webb. By Alice Beal Parsons..... 145
- Poor Law. By J. A. Hobson..... 146
- The Mysterious Aborigine. By Anita Brenner..... 146
- An Old-Fashioned Tyrant. By William MacDonald..... 147
- A Popular Moralist. By William Seagle..... 148
- Lincoln's Family. By Luther Emerson Robinson..... 148
- Lyrics of a Feather. By Eda Lou Walton..... 150
- Fiction Briefs 151

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- Bethlehem, Britain, and the Chinese Navy. By K. K. Kawakami.. 152

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
ARTHUR WARNER
DOROTHY VAN DOREN PAUL BLANSHARD
Dramatic Editor JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Literary Editor FREDA KIRCHWEY
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 34, Clifton Gardens, W. 9, London, England.

IN THIS DAY OF RECORDS the fact which the public will note chiefly in connection with the return of Aristide Briand to the helm in France is that it is his twelfth time as Premier. While the sporting almanacs give no statistics on the subject, we imagine that Briand's performance must be the record for all weights and classes. And Briand's capacity to be Johnny-on-the-spot whenever there is a premiership vacant is in a way the best clue to his political significance. For while he may not be all things to all men, he has at least been many things to many men. Entering politics as a radical, he gradually took a more "practical" position, and he has been too busy as a small politician ever to become a great statesman. Yet his mobility has been of service. He has worked with his ear to the ground, but his hearing has been attuned to some of the finer sounds as well as the opportunist cat-calls of the mob. Thus he was able to bring about the agreements of Locarno, and he suggested (as a pact between France and this country) the anti-war treaties which on this side of the Atlantic have been baptized with the name of ex-Secretary Kellogg. He can be counted upon to continue his work for peace. Raymond Poincaré, the retiring Premier, is a type almost the opposite of Briand. Poincaré has been one thing to all men always—a hard-headed conservative nationalist. His intransigence had much to do with bringing about the post-war economic havoc both in Germany and France, but it must be admitted that his views had grown somewhat saner lately, and undoubtedly he is entitled to the chief credit for stabilizing France's currency. Clemenceau once said: "Poincaré knows everything and understands nothing; Briand knows nothing and understands everything."

WHEN THE SINO-RUSSIAN word-bombs were bursting in mid-air, and hostilities seemed inevitable, Secretary Stimson almost forgot that his predecessors had unanimously declared that it was impossible to deal with the Russians. There was a threat of war, and he did his best to prevent its realization. Unfortunately, since we had no direct relations with Soviet Russia, he had to negotiate through France, and a certain awkwardness seems to have resulted. No one seems yet to be sure whether the French transmitted Mr. Stimson's message as a billet-doux from Washington or acted as of their own initiative. As far as world peace goes, it does not matter; the important point was to get the message to Stalin. In the light of this incident how silly our stubborn policy of non-recognition seems! Soviet Russia is a part of the world, and when a crisis comes there is no alternative to dealing with its Bolshevik rulers. They exist; they cannot be ignored, however little one may like them. Mr. Stimson acted sanely in sending his message to them; now will he not admit that the same government which exists in time of crisis exists in calm days too? It would be a healthy thing if Washington could get over its new-fangled habit of exercising censorship over the morals of foreign governments. It seems to us that it is the State Department's business to deal with any government which another people is willing to tolerate, whether it be tory, socialist, or communist, republican, fascist, or monarchical. Meanwhile, the tension between China and Russia has relaxed, a neutral zone on the Manchurian border has been created by the retirement of Chinese and Russian troops, and there are prospects of direct negotiations between the two governments.

RAMSAY MACDONALD, by virtually forcing the resignation of Lord Lloyd, the high-handed tory High Commissioner in Egypt, suggests that he intends to inaugurate a new era in Anglo-Egyptian relations. That will not be easy, as he discovered in his first term in office, in 1924, for British opinion is fairly solid behind the unilateral declaration of February 28, 1922, and Egypt is as solid against it. In that declaration the British recognized Egypt as an "independent, sovereign state" but "absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government" the four questions of the protection of the Suez Canal, the defense of Egypt, the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and the Sudan. Zaglul Pasha, the veteran Nationalist leader, then Prime Minister, demanded the withdrawal of Britain's army, financial, and judicial advisers; control of foreign relations and control over foreigners in Egypt; a share in protection of the canal; and an Egyptian Sudan. Zaglul and MacDonald met,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but while both were prepared to be friendly—something new in British-Egyptian relations—neither was prepared to compromise. After MacDonald's fall things went from bad to worse. Following the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the commander-in-chief of the "Egyptian" army, in November, 1924, the tory Government of Britain sent a twenty-four-hour ultimatum, accompanied by a regiment of cavalry, to demand apologies, suppression of "all popular political demonstrations," a fine of $2,500,000, withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan, and cessation of all opposition to British control. When Egypt hesitated, the British drove the Egyptians out of the Sudan and occupied the customs house at Alexandria. Zaglul resigned, Parliament was dismissed, and a puppet dictator was installed by the British to carry out their orders. Finally, at Lord Lloyd's order, the constitution was suspended for three years. Now the High Commissioner is to be changed, but is the Government ready to make real, substantial concessions to the Egyptians' demand for sovereignty in their own land?

BRITAIN'S LABOR GOVERNMENT will do its best to settle the grievances which lie behind the great strike and lockout of half a million cotton-mill workers in Lancashire, but it is difficult to see how it can do more than effect a temporary compromise. The depression in the Lancashire mills is part of an international situation beyond its control, and the employers and workers are both victims of that situation. The British textile industry has been depressed for a long time because its ascendancy in the world market was lost after the war. The Lancashire workers can scarcely keep alive if they accept the entire 12½ per cent wage-cut that the employers demand, but they seem doomed to accept part of that cut or go without work. Meanwhile, in our Southern States, strikes of cotton-mill workers multiply with increasing prospects of success in lifting the labor standards of the industry. A strike in Ware Shoals, South Carolina, has ended in defeat after a brave fight by the workers against the owners, the State militia, and an anti-labor governor; but in Marion, North Carolina, the strike of 700 cotton-mill workers against the Marion Manufacturing Company was continuing vigorously as this issue of *The Nation* went to press. Under the leadership of the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor the strikers were fighting for the reinstatement of twenty-two discharged union members and for the ten-hour day in place of the eleven and twelve-hour shift. R. W. Baldwin, president of the company and one of the most loudly philanthropic of Southern textile manufacturers, was recently struck on the head while leading some strikebreakers to his mill. Seventeen strikers were placed under bail, charged with conspiracy to commit murder.

THE POLICY OF THE FARM BOARD is rapidly being made clear. Its theory was set forth by the chairman, Alexander Legge, in his address before the American Institute of Cooperation at Baton Rouge on July 30. Agriculture, he declares, is not keeping pace with other industries because "agriculture has operated as an individual enterprise competing with organized effort in other industries —individual action and planning as compared with collective thinking and action." The present trouble with agriculture, he holds, is largely a matter of marketing, and he states the central feature of the board's program thus: "The board believes that it can be of great assistance to the American farmers by encouraging the development of large-scale, central cooperative organizations." The records of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Legge states, show that 2,000,000 farmers, or nearly one-third of the total, already belong to the 12,500 existing cooperative associations, and he hopes that by developing the activities of these organizations it may be possible in time to control surplus production and to stabilize marketing conditions. As a first step in the board's program, it has already arranged for the formation of the Farmers' National Grain Corporation, a central marketing organization with an initial capital of $10,000,000. The fifty-two officials of existing farm organizations who met with the board at the organizing meeting included leaders of the farm revolt at last year's Republican convention, so one purpose of the Farm Relief Act is in way of attainment. American agricultural history is not too reassuring as to the possibilities of cooperative effort among farmers, but it will be interesting, at any rate, to see what the application of big-business methods to agricultural marketing can accomplish.

TARIFF LAWS, as they are written under our system, are always so full of mischiefs that one can scarcely keep track of them. The flexible provision so dear to the heart of Matthew Woll, formerly of the labor movement, now of the National Civic Federation, in the hands of a protectionist President is in fact just a device for the further raising of particular duties, as Messrs. Coolidge and Hoover have shown plainly enough. The proposals of the House bill concerning methods of valuing imports are no less mischievous. If they are accepted, customs officials will have power to determine the basis of valuation in any given case, and there will be no appeal except to the Secretary of the Treasury. In practice, under this arrangement, the customs officials might substitute American for foreign valuations, thus raising sharply the duties payable without any change of rates. In some cases there are sound reasons for using the American valuation, and we give the framers of the bill credit for having them in mind; but the tariff vultures, it ought to be remembered, long ago scented fresh carrion hidden under this valuation cover, and if the change is made it is safe to say they will see to it that they get some choice morsels. The Association of the Customs Bar two months ago protested against the proposal on the ground that by making the Secretary of the Treasury the final authority it would deprive the importer of the right of judicial review. We protest against it on the ground that it is all too likely to mean a further jacking up of duties.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE has clarified the question of what one must swear to in order to get a passport by a letter written in reply to criticism of the oath which Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was allowed to take. Miss Detzer refused to promise to "defend" the Constitution if by that the bearing of arms or assistance in war was implied. So she was allowed to take an oath to "support" the Constitution, according to the form that was used for Roger N. Baldwin in 1926. This modification is justified by the Department of State by pointing out that the oath administered to one receiving a passport does not rest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the same legal basis as that required of one applying for citizenship. In the latter case the oath is prescribed in the law, but there is no act of Congress requiring a statement of allegiance in connection with a passport. The practice of the Department of State in asking for an oath of allegiance is based solely on an executive order, but no particular form has been insisted upon. Evidently, therefore, anyone is justified in asking for a modification of the usual form and probably would be within his legal rights in insisting upon a passport without taking an oath at all.

IN THE GENERAL CHORUS of rejoicing over President Hoover's action for disarmament, Paul V. McNutt, commander of the American Legion, of course sounded a discordant note. The Legion, he declares in a telegram to the President, opposes any action which will prevent the United States from regaining "its lost naval parity with Great Britain"—whatever that may be. Senator Brookhart takes issue with Mr. McNutt's protest in vigorous fashion, and in so doing calls attention to an important truth about the body of the Legion as compared with its officers. Mr. McNutt, he asserts, in his picturesque way, is "merely representing a little bloodthirsty coterie at the head of the Legion, which has become the chief propagandist of the war profiteers." "Resolutions," he declares, "are usually . . . indorsed by a small number of organized delegates . . . and they never represent the Legion membership in its sober judgment." The Legion manages to be unfailingly wrong officially on important questions. We are likely to forget that its officers are—the kind of men who get to be officers of a semi-social patriotic organization. They manage, then, to put the whole weight of their organization behind their own short-sighted views of national policy, while in fact the membership contains about the same proportion of intelligent and thoughtful young men as any other rank-and-file group. Official statements of the American Legion are pretty much an unqualified nuisance, and it is a great pity that there are no means of making vocal the ideas of the intelligent unofficial membership.

OUR FIRST PRIZE for golden deeds goes this week to the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut, which in one decision has voided 1,493 laws, a substantial part of the legislative crop of the State for the past ten years. The State constitution provides that in order to be valid an act of the legislature must be signed within three days of the adjournment of that body, but the passion of Connecticut legislators to make the citizens wise and pure and good has been such that they have piled a prodigious heap of would-be law on the Governor's desk in the closing days of recent sessions, and through a bit of that legal legerdemain which is so excellent a lubricant for the wheels of government the last four chief executives of the State have all disregarded the time limit in signing many bills. Now the Supreme Court of Errors has called the practice unconstitutional, and bang go 1,493 hand-tailored, full-fashioned, glove-fitting, only slightly worn statutes. We commend this splendid constructive step of the Nutmeg high tribunal to President Hoover's commission on law enforcement. Nothing is better calculated to simplify law observance than not having any laws to observe. If the high courts of all the States would follow the Connecticut example, what a blessing it would be! And if legislatures would cease to enact most of their legislation, how much better still it would be! Then the commission on law enforcement might wind the clock, put out the cat, and go to sleep. It is practically impossible to violate an unenacted act.

FRANCE SAVED her international lawn-tennis championship by winning the Davis Cup challenge round in Paris, three matches to two, but the Americans made so brave a bid for the laurels that they emerged with new glory. In the years since Dwight F. Davis first presented the cup for international competition tennis has become wellnigh the most universal of sports and the Davis Cup matches include almost every modernized nation of the world. Around the matches have developed such traditions of fair play and sportsmanship that Tilden and Hunter received more applause in Berlin than Moldenhauer and Prenn, and the French crowds cheered every effort of George Lott in his deciding match against Cochet as if he were the defender of the tri-color. The heartiest cheers of all this year are due to William T. Tilden, who closed his brilliant career as an internationalist by defeating Jean Borotra. Perhaps there will be greater tennis players than Tilden, but we doubt if there will ever be one who combines his speed and strategy with the histrionic ability to make every court a stage. In spite of some derogatory newspaper comment, Tilden leaves international tennis, at the age of thirty-six, still the third ranking player of the world and probably capable of winning our national championship several more times if he cares to try for it. The only thing that may darken Tilden's retirement as an internationalist is the thought that the United States might have captured the Davis Cup by a score of three to two if the American committee had played Hunter instead of Lott against Borotra.

FOR GENTLEMEN who cannot spend the month with endurance fliers or with the Byrd expedition we suggest pajamas. It is time that these faithful garments were rescued from the outer fringes of undress where they have been consigned. Why the police should rate them lower than pants is beyond our comprehension. Anyone can go almost anywhere in pants, but let any broiling male describe his cotton pants as pajamas and immediately the police swoop down upon him. Paul Partridge of the University of Oklahoma tried breakfasting in the university cafeteria in bright purple pajamas and was led out gently by the ear. W. B. Bizzell, president of the university, warned the college paper that he would stop its publication if it printed a picture of Partridge in pajamas. W. O. Saunders of the Elizabeth City (North Carolina) *Independent* had better luck. Strolling down the main street of his town in a pair of beautiful tan pajamas with a long, smock-like coat, attached collar, and cravat, Mr. Saunders was arrested. He took his case to the mayor and won from his honor a decision which should go down in sartorial annals as the Magna Charta of the sweltering sex:

> It is the inherent right of every citizen [said the mayor] or inhabitant of the city and every visitor to dress as he pleases, and go and come as he pleases, as long as there is no indecent exposure of his person. And [he added] if I had the nerve I would adopt pajamas for street wear myself.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peace Pact and Disarmament

THE Briand-Kellogg pact is formally in effect, and the peoples and governments of the world now face the stern task of building the peace. The pact, despite the strictures of its critics, means, or may mean, a first step in that great work; despite the plaudits of its friends, it of course means no more than a first step. Friends of peace may congratulate themselves that that step is taken, and Americans may take justifiable pride in the recent action of our President and Secretary of State in connection with this international engagement.

During the weeks of midsummer madness just past certain forces in China and Russia were working the peoples up to that stage of insane fury where war becomes a reality. It was our own Secretary of State who at the right moment reminded the two governments, theretofore apparently growing more and more belligerent, of their obligations under the pact. Since that time the exchanges between Nanking and Moscow have become more moderate, and the present outlook is for a settlement of the real differences between the two governments on a basis of reason and common-sense, not of hatred and bloodshed. We do not say that the pact prevented war, for we do not believe that it did. We do say that the pact gave Secretary Stimson a good opening, which he utilized skilfully, and that to such an extent the treaty made it easier for the governments of China and Russia to take the way of reason. We rejoice that it was an American secretary of state who in a crisis first successfully invoked the pact, and that its moral authority is in so far enhanced.

Distinctly more important, probably, in the long run, and no less creditable to Mr. Hoover's Administration, are the exchanges now going on between Washington and London in respect to the reduction of armaments. The events of the past month are full of encouragement to the friends of peace, and we should be less than fair if we failed to express our hearty appreciation of the steps Mr. Hoover has taken thus far, and our hope that he will not hesitate or falter in the good work so well begun; for of course the big fight is all ahead.

Mr. Dawes's first speech served notice on the world, and particularly on the generals and admirals, that so far as the Administration was concerned, our government was actually ready to reduce its armaments. All the silly talk about yardsticks and parity and like nonsense does not alter the significance of one basic fact: the responsible heads of the British and the American government are ready to sit down together as intelligent and friendly human beings and talk over plans of cutting navies and taxes, instead of leaving it to professional fighting men and their civilian allies to scare us all into believing that it can't be done. Prime Minister MacDonald, in discussing parity, points out that the governments have agreed to a certain elasticity in meeting their peace-time needs, and that technical considerations will not be allowed to interfere with the main purpose. This is to say that parity is poppycock, and that the governments have agreed on reduction as the important thing—which it is.

And now comes Mr. Hoover, the very day before the peace pact goes into formal effect, saying flatly:

> The American people should understand that current expenditures on strictly military activities of the army and navy constitute the largest military budget of any nation in the world today, and at a time when there is less real danger of extensive disturbance to peace than at any time in more than half a century. The hope of tax reduction lies in large degree in our ability to economize on the military and naval expenditure and still maintain adequate defense. Our whole situation is certainly modified by the Kellogg pact.

This statement the President follows up with actual figures of such expenditures for four of the leading powers, showing us outlays on the army and navy above a hundred millions more during the past year and two hundred millions more in the present year than our nearest competitor, Great Britain, and more than three times as much as Japan. Further, he points out that the $685,000,000 of last year will rise to $803,000,000 three years hence if our plans be not changed. These are not the words of those advocates of "adequate" defense who forever demand more guns and ships and planes and poison.

Nor is this all. Mr. Hoover announces the appointment of a commission (unfortunately from the general staff) to study reduction of army costs; and then, plainly by agreement with Mr. MacDonald, who makes a corresponding announcement in London, he gives notice of delay in laying down the keels of three of the five cruisers in this year's building program, the other two being under contract in private yards, where the work can less readily be stopped—a fact worthy of remark in considering the forces back of naval building. Small wonder that that doughty naval expert and Briton-baiter, Representative Britten, gives forth an agonized wail that the President is violating the intent of Congress, and that the misguided president of the American Legion utters a shout of alarm. It is only the first faint rumbling of the storm that will come; for the President actually proposes to cut down army and navy expenditures, on the ground that the pact really means something. That is the way to make it mean something, and we honor the President for his action.

We are not so silly as to imagine that Mr. Hoover has turned pacifist, but we do say that, within the limits of his ideas and his position, his moves up to this point have been admirable. Thus far, with the MacDonald Government collaborating in England, his task has been comparatively easy; now comes the real fight and the real test of the President, who does not love a fight. But the army and navy and all their war-making allies in Congress and out of it will unquestionably gather their forces and fight for their life. Their forces are immensely powerful. No indirect methods, no simple, quiet conferences with a few leaders will do the work that must be done. We believe that Mr. Hoover can find irresistible popular support for the moderate measure of armament reduction at present contemplated if he will use the power of his position to make the issue clear. Will he lead the American people to take this short step from fear toward friendliness? It is a great task for any man.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fashions in Food

WE noted some time ago the advent of the odd cult of sauerkraut juice. Now the tomato-juice cocktail is regnant, a harmless, vapid drink, a sort of vegetarian cousin of the clam-juice cocktail which has done so much to restore the profits of the restaurant business. Time was when clam broth was served free with steamed clams, and the liquid from cold clams on the halfshell went down the sink; nowadays it is carefully saved, watered, peppered, and served in tiny glasses at from thirty to sixty cents a glass, depending upon the toniness of the restaurant. It would be a good drink at a dime, but we predict that in another decade it will be as completely forgotten as the limeades which, together with Geronimo, the tired Apache, were the chief glory of the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901.

For foods are as modish and shifting as women's dresses. It was only a few years ago that every stenographer in New York, wearing a smock to protect her dress and, like as not, a Helen Wills eyeshade to protect her eyes, spent the noon hour munching raisins because the ads had taught her that her system needed iron. Next came the daily apples, driving the doctors away. Now the girls cultivate yeast gardens in their patient stomachs. And then, having done their hygienic duty, they rush out to fill up on Eskimo pies—undoubtedly, with the airplane and the radio, one of the chief characteristics of American civilization in this decade—and Baby Ruths and Oh Henrys.

The days of the old "fancy" are gone forever—the neighborhood store where candies lay in tempting display, fly-specked and grimy from sampling fingers, ranging from twenty-for-a-cent "pills" to great "lickrish-sticks" at one cent each, and fat, powdered marshmallow bars, three cubic inches for one Indian-head copper. It is a different, oil-paper world that the child of today faces when in quest of candy. Each stock is precisely like the next—the same spearmint chewing gum, the same delectable chocolate mints, the same brands of accurately counted caramels and immaculately wrapped toffees, the same peanuts and almonds and fig bars and life-savers. In the old days one was faithful to his "fancy"; one knew the quality of its marshmallows as distinguished from that of another store. Today the stands are all alike, all equally hygienic, all shifting mechanically in accordance with the advertising and the sales campaigns. No doubt the child of today gets cleaner candy—he should, for the four-for-a-cent has been replaced by five-for-a-nickel—but we doubt if he has the same opportunity to develop his own tastes. And in one particular the candy-makers have made a deplorable retrogression. Twenty years ago it was still possible for a small boy to get chocolate—real, honest-to-God, dark brown, not-too-much-sweetened chocolate. Today there is little on the stands but the insipidly sweet milk chocolates. Even the Eskimo pie-makers have gone over to milk chocolate.

Still, the world does move. Modern science has taught us to eat greens as diligently as our ancestors did before science discovered vitamines; and prohibition has brought the delectable lime to the remotest delicatessens. Broccoli, after a century's obscurity, has returned to the American table; and the iced-drink emporiums have imported a magnificent discovery from the tropics. The "orange drink," despite its synthetic flavors, was at least an improvement on the old ice-cream soda; and this season a pale adaptation of the West Indian *jugo de piña* has blossomed upon the counter. To those who cannot endure the thought or the name of the tomato-juice cocktail, we commend 1929's finest hot-weather drink—pineapple juice!

Panama Awaits the Ax

IMPERIALISM does not always advance by leaps and bounds. More often it flows, quietly and hardly noticeable at a distance, or even merely trickles. The latter seems to be the present process in Panama. Ever since President Roosevelt despoiled Colombia of Panama by assisting a revolution in that neck of the woods and then recognizing overnight the independence of the revolutionaries, the isthmian republic has been under our domination. But actual interference or exploitation has been guarded and gradual. The cupidity of native politicians is always a favorite opening in the game of imperialism. The weaker countries get into financial troubles because of having extravagant expenditures foisted upon them and by the erosion of their revenues through graft. In this age of universal borrowing what is more natural then than to seek a foreign loan? And what is more inevitable than that the foreign banker, in order to secure the loan, will seek extraordinary rights and call upon his government to back him in the protection of that modern sacred cow, private property?

Last year Panama, having got into financial difficulties, sought a foreign loan of $12,000,000. A number of American bankers were ready to accommodate, for these Latin American loans are floated at a nice commission and good interest rates. The Guaranty Trust Company of New York was declared the successful bidder, but there was delay in issuing the bonds. Finally, the Guaranty Trust withdrew its offer and the National City Bank of New York took over the contract. Perhaps the National City voted first and discussed afterward, according to the philosophy of the late E. H. Harriman. At any rate, after floating the loan and making some advances to the government of Panama, the National City indicated some apprehension in regard to Panamanian finances. The republic was induced to "invite" a commission from the National City Bank to make a financial and economic survey. The "invitation" is said to have cost Panama $32,000, and such of the findings as were made public last spring were not entirely rosy. George E. Roberts, vice-president of the National City Bank, who headed the commission, reported that the country's revenues were good but that the deficits and the floating debt made the financial situation unsatisfactory. The commission recommended the appointment of a citizen of the United States as comptroller, although the republic is already paying a fiscal agent supposedly acting under the advice of our Department of State. The National City Bank first suggested one of its own men, but his demand for $25,000 annually and expenses, with six months a year in the United States, was a bit thick even for the docile Panamanians. Finally a business man on the Isthmus was selected, presumably equally satisfactory to the bank, so that we may take it for granted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that henceforth the finances of the republic will be directed primarily from Wall Street.

Meanwhile the treaty which our Department of State sought to impose upon Panama in 1926 is still hanging fire. That instrument, described in our issue of January 5, 1927, provides that Panama "will consider herself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States should be a belligerent," and if necessary "in the opinion of the United States Government" to defend the Canal, Panama will turn over to the Untied States the control of wireless and radio communication and aircraft. In addition "the United States shall have the direction and control of all military operations" in the republic during actual or threatened hostilities.

Obviously the treaty is an infamous one to present to any supposedly independent nation and is due to our original error in fortifying the Panama Canal as part of our national defense instead of making it a neutral international highway. Panama refused to ratify the treaty when first presented, and President Arosemena was at pains to say last spring that unless the document was modified by us it would not again be placed before the National Assembly. But the Department of State seems still to cherish the notion that it wants the treaty, and, as we said earlier, imperialism does not always proceed by leaps and bounds. More often it flows or merely trickles. But it proceeds. Our financial and political overlordship of Panama is bound to grow ever stronger unless a drastic change of sentiment in this country calls for a new policy. Of this we see no present sign. On the contrary, we are disposed to echo the remark of a writer in the *Patria* of San Salvador:

> We are bound to be swallowed in the end, whatever happens; nothing remains for us but to try to make the process of deglutition as slow and difficult as possible. And let us keep the hope that our bones may stick in Uncle Sam's throat.

This Lawless Nation

WE are, and we have always been, a lawless nation. It is fashionable today to blame lawlessness upon the mixture of races in our population, but that is nonsense which ignores history. Good pure-blooded Anglo-Saxons built up the bloody tradition of the frontier; English stock burned Irish Catholic convents in the Know-Nothing days of the middle of the last century; and while New York and Chicago have their high percentages of crime, it is in the pure-blooded South that the homicide rate runs highest and that the tradition of ignoring inconvenient laws reaches its peak. Prohibition violations are a small matter compared to the wholesale, persistent, unashamed, and official violation of the Constitutional provisions protecting the Negro which are current throughout the South.

It may be disconcerting, but it is eminently fitting, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should present to the President's commission on law enforcement a brief recalling its attention from the recent difficulties about prohibition to the long-continued law-breaking involved in the tradition of lynching, the custom of peonage, the official illegalities of segregation and white primary laws, and the flagrant partiality with which the school and Jim Crow laws are applied. The commission will convict itself of superficiality and of political evasion if it fails thoroughly to study these basic violations of constitutional guaranties and of the nation's legal fabric.

That most bestial of crimes, lynching, is, fortunately, declining. Public opinion in the South itself has turned against this stain upon the name of mankind. But the fact that there were only 11 lynchings in 1928, 21 in 1927, 34 in 1926, and 64 in 1921 should not blind us to the truth that while this worst excrescence of interracial violence is waning, the indecent conditions out of which it grew largely persist. Peonage, which is essentially a form of human slavery, degrading both master and debt-slave and poisoning their human relations, persists in many States. The conditions officially reported by the Governor of Georgia in 1921 have not been wiped out. A federal law exists under which punishment of those responsible for peonage is authorized, but, as the N. A. A. C. P. points out, prosecutions have been infrequent and the illegal system is complacently tolerated.

We commented recently upon the unequal application of the Jim Crow laws which nominally grant separate and equal accommodation to the two races, but in practice give only third-class accommodation to Negroes. The expenditure of the school taxes in all the Southern States is a similar example of flagrant disrespect for the provisions of law. In some States from five to ten times as much in proportion to the number of children of each race is spent on white schools as on Negro schools. Even border States like Maryland and Missouri grossly discriminate against the schools for Negro pupils.

But the disfranchisement of the colored half of the South is, of course, the most appalling violation of law. State after State passes laws intended to circumvent the plain meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and as soon as the Supreme Court declares them unconstitutional the States devise new forms of defiance. The white South does not intend the black South to vote, and it is notorious how election boards contrive to disfranchise Negroes. A white citizen may prove his literacy by merely reading his abc's; a colored man must prove himself a constitutional lawyer before a white board will admit that he is able to read and write. And these white aristocrats will regard such tactics as a joke!

Possibly the most bare-faced recent example of complete disregard for law by gentlemen sworn to uphold it was the contemptuous action of the City Council of Atlanta, Georgia, which, by a vote of 28 to 0, overrode the mayor's veto of a segregation law that was patently and unquestionably unconstitutional, paralleling closely, as it did, another ordinance upon which the courts had already ruled.

Such practices are at their worst in the South. But the recent violence at North Platte, Nebraska, and the only less recent outbreaks in Detroit, Chicago, East St. Louis, and other Northern cities reveal only too clearly that such contempt for law, when race prejudices are concerned, has no geographical limits. It lies deep in American nature. And if President Hoover's commission really wishes to get at the root of American contempt for law, it will do well to begin by poring over the documents attached to the brief of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by studying American attitudes toward race problems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Seems to Heywood Broun

THE *Times-Journal* of Selma, Alabama, has solved the race problem very simply in a recent editorial by asserting that there is none. Except of course in the minds of a few Negro agitators and a small group of ignorant white commentators mostly situated in the North. "Down here in Dixie," says the gentleman behind the rose-colored spectacles, "we have grown to know each other and we don't have problems. We have settled them satisfactorily to both races." The basis of this mutually satisfactory settlement is outlined in the sentence, "Neither race wants social or political equality and we only hear of it from agitators on the outside."

Since the white man in the South has managed to set up political and social superiority for his own race it is probably true that he is making no great outcry for equality. I am even willing to grant that in many sections of the South the Negro has accepted disfranchisement tamely enough. He is not anxious to run the risk and bother of trying to assert his rights. Indeed, his political interests have become atrophied. It makes little difference to him which party sits in the high seats. But this acceptance of a condition is not quite the same thing as a contented satisfaction. It would hardly be fair to cram wax down the ears of an individual and after it was firmly set to explain, "Can't you comprehend that this good fellow has no desire whatever to attend the symphony concert?"

If the Selma *Times-Journal* is in any sense correct in asserting that the Negro is thoroughly complacent in his present situation it may be a plausible quibble to maintain that there is no Negro problem, but in that case the terminology must be shifted about to admit the very lively presence of a white problem. Nor is the issue a local one. If millions of adults in the United States are barred from the polls and restive under this disability a serious situation exists. But to my mind the condition is still more grave and tragic if it is true that they have cheerfully accepted their lot. Such a state of affairs puts the whole democratic theory of government in danger. Can a nation exist part quick and part dead? If it is both reasonable and feasible to take the vote away from the Negro on the ground that he is insufficiently intelligent to exercise the franchise there is no logical reason why the limitation of manhood suffrage should stop there. Under any such a philosophy of government it would be not at all unreasonable to confine voting only to persons listed in Who's Who or to such college men as were graduated cum laude.

Complete and successful disfranchisement of the Negro is a long step toward the creation of an oligarchic state. It raises the vital issue of whether America can carry upon its back a helot class and still move on and up to the bright dreams which have animated the noble army of martyrs for freedom's cause. Fortunately it seems likely that the Alabama editorial writer takes far too grave a view of the situation. His pessimism is blacker than is in any way justified. He sees the long dark ranks of supine men and women and thinks that they are dead to the cause of democracy. They sleep and are not dead. Some stir, and if the ear is sensitive it can detect that here and there one moans and mutters through his slumber. A great gulf is fixed between patience and resignation. There will be a morning of freedom. Democracy has always been a slow ferment and manhood is not to be forever mocked.

Fortunately the South has been much less than adroit in its attempt to create a half-way house on the road to Utopia. Speaking of the Negro the Selma *Times-Journal* says, "We find him ambitious, happy, and contented. Equally with the white man, he is protected in life and liberty—in the ownership of his property, and in the pursuit of happiness. . . . Side by side, with 'one increasing purpose'—the preservation of the integrity and welfare of each race—we are moving forward down here in the South."

But one has but to see the mulatto millions to know that neither North nor South has been fanatical in its effort to preserve the integrity of the Negro race. When the last lynching is a memory of one hundred years ago then it will be time enough to talk of equality in protection of life and liberty. And I would not have the audacity to speak of the "pursuit of happiness" until it was quite unknown for any white man in the land to curl the lip of scorn and say "Here you, nigger!"

Communities in which segregation exists by law have not played the game fairly even according to their own principles and professions. There are hundreds of statutes establishing separate and equal accommodations on railroads. Does any fair-minded man dare to stand up and assert that the Jim Crow car is as good a piece of rolling stock as that assigned to the white man? Nor does one have to live his whole life south of the Mason and Dixon line to know that whenever a separate place is set aside for the Negro it is a poorer place than that reserved for the white man. For the Nordic, the orchestra; for the Negro, the second balcony—it is through these humiliating devices that the white man preserves the integrity of each race.

I am aware of the fact that one fault has come too much into many articles which I have written about white and black. One might get the impression that I believe prejudice to be purely geographical. The South is more articulate in expressing its feeling. Otherwise there is not a vast difference between the Northern and the Southern attitude. Some of the most rabid Negro baiters I have ever known came down from the North and enthusiastically accepted the attitude of the community in which they found themselves. There ought to be an old adage running, "There's no fool like a convert."

It is also true that in increasing numbers the white people of the South are coming to realize that the present situation between white and black is not satisfactory for either race. Pat on his tumble from the Woolworth Tower cried out to horrified observers on the fourteenth floor, "I'm all right so far." And the Southerner who says, "We have this thing all settled," is blood cousin to the peasant who plants his vines upon the slope of some Vesuvius. When an oppressed race asks for the bread of liberty it is not enough to toss it a mammy song. HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A License to Steal

By WILLIAM C. MURPHY, JR.

ENACTMENT of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill, over which Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee are now sweltering in Washington, will determine whether the power to levy taxes shall remain with Congress where it was vested by the Constitution or shall be transferred to the President. This is the question which overshadows all others in any consideration of the pending bill. Incidentally, it is the question upon which hinges the comparatively minor issue of whether or not President Hoover is to be repudiated by a Congress of his own party at the very outset of his administration.

It is true that the bill which has been passed by the House would increase the living costs of the American people by from $600,000,000 to $700,000,000 annually; that there are proposed increases amounting to 2,000 per cent on some commodities—imitation pearl beads for example—but these are merely transient iniquities when compared to the major issue involved. Individual larcenies, whether petty or grand, are trivialities when placed alongside a proposition to issue a license to steal.

Briefly, the bill proposes to give the President power to raise or lower duties up to fifty per cent of the statutory rates whenever the Tariff Commission shall determine that such a change is justified by conditions of competition between domestic and imported products. To make sure that determinations will be forthcoming as desired from the Commission, it is further proposed to abolish the bi-partisan character of that body, leaving the President free to name the entire membership from adherents of his own political faith and to remove any member at will. But this is not all; another section of the bill would take away most of the powers now vested in the courts and leave the Treasury Department—another agency of the President—as the arbiter on questions of valuation. The possibilities of increasing valuations through one agency and then pyramiding increased rates on the increased valuations are obvious. These two administrative provisions would thus give to a protectionist Administration the power to raise duties almost at will. The action of President Coolidge and President Hoover under the flexible provisions of the present law leaves little doubt that if these new sections are written into the forthcoming law we shall see many duties raised by executive fiat.

These are the facts and possibilities which have brought into being a Democratic-Progressive Republican coalition which, as this is written, seems to have a fair chance of overturning the entire flexible tariff plan in the Senate. So definite has the coalition become that Senator Borah, most ardent and vociferous of Mr. Hoover's campaign orators, has taken to issuing his statements against the bill through the Democratic National Committee. Even an ardent Administration protectionist, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, has indicated unmistakably that he thinks the expansion of the executive's tariff-making powers has gone far enough. The point involved is the perpetuation of the dearly established principle that the power that holds the sword must be separated from the power that controls the purse. It has been suggested that if the President is given power to raise or lower customs duties there is no logical reason why he should not be given similar power over income-tax rates.

Another shadow hovering over the huge Turkish bath which is the Senate Finance Committee room, is the threat of potential retaliations by foreign countries which may not take kindly to having their products shut off from the American market by a prohibitive tariff wall. Foreign nations always register protests when an American tariff bill is in the making. It is still recalled in Washington that a former Greek Minister made himself popularly known as "the currant issue" by his persistent wailings over a prospective increase in the duties on currants a few years ago.

But the present deluge of foreign protests—so far there have been more than forty—are more ominous as well as more numerous than on former occasions. No longer are they mere polite intimations that some foreign government would appreciate it if the duties on certain products were not increased. Almost without exception, the present crop of protests speak of the inevitable decrease in the foreign demand for American products in the event of tariff raises inimical to foreign industrial interests. More important than these diplomatically worded threats are the hard facts of economics which tend to make the threats credible. It is not being overlooked that the United States now sells more than it buys, and that it has become a creditor nation, with net payments of more than half a billion a year due it on account of interest and dividends. Therefore, if we prevent foreign nations from selling to us, they must in time buy less and less from the United States, for the very adequate reason that they will not have the money to buy with. This was less plain when most of the former tariff bills were being framed. Then the United States was still a debtor nation, with a balance due to other countries on account. Such considerations as these cause even some ardent protectionists to wonder if the Hawley bill will be an unmixed blessing for an Administration which was ushered in by a glorified drummer's tour of South America to stimulate trade with that continent.

But there are more definite indications of danger from abroad than the academic questions of economics. For example, there was the Canadian remonstrance against the proposed duties on shingles, lumber and feeder cattle, coupled with the intimation that enactment of those rates might result in retaliatory British duties on American wheat. Secretary Stimson denied that any such representations had been made by Canada on the same day that the Canadian Government at Ottawa was announcing that they had been made—and after it had been learned on unimpeachable authority that several prominent senators had been summoned to conferences by high Administration officials, including Mr. Stimson, who were excited about the possibilities involved in the Canadian situation.

Leaving the question of relative diplomatic veracity for settlement by those who may be interested in useless abstractions, there is the concrete fact that the State Depart-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment has practically abandoned any attempts to negotiate commercial treaties. It has given up this futile activity because, in view of American tariff practices, foreign nations will not accept the customary "most favored nation" clause in treaties with the United States. The situation is illustrated strikingly by comparing Canada and the United States. The former, not counting her favored status in the British Empire, has treaties including the most-favored-nation clause with twenty-two nations. These twenty-two nations include practically all of the great trading and commercial powers and most of their colonies. The United States has such treaties with exactly seven countries, of which Germany and China are the only two of any commercial importance.

It will be recalled that the announced purpose of the Republican Party, as set forth in its most recent platform, and of President Hoover in his message to the special session of Congress, is to place agriculture on an economic parity with industry, partly, at least, through tariff revision. The problem of translating that principle into definite rates is one that is adding gray hairs to the heads of Republican senators now engaged in putting the Hawley bill into shape for presentation to the Senate. They are somewhat handicapped because, after the President had suggested a revision limited to agricultural products and a few commodities faced with emergency conditions, the House ran wild and passed a bill containing nearly a thousand changes in rates. Practically all of the changes were increases, of course, so the bill became to all practical purposes a general upward revision. Agriculture was given many of the increases, to be sure, but in nearly every case where the products of agriculture enter into industry there were "compensatory" increases on the finished products. Naturally, the representatives of the industries concerned wish to retain the "compensatory" increases. At the same time the farm bloc has blood in its collective eye and is proclaiming loudly that agriculture is in exactly the same relative position as before.

It has been asserted that the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922 gave agricultural products an average of 25.85% protection while the average for industrial products is 42.03%, and that the Hawley bill protects agriculture theoretically by an average of 29.90% and industry by an average of 47.07%. In other words, while both agricultural and industrial rates are increased by the present bill, the gap between the protection accorded agriculture and that accorded industry has been widened. To this, of course, is added the contention that tariff protection is entirely valueless on some of the great agricultural staples such as wheat, in which there is a surplus over domestic consumption resulting in the domestic price being practically fixed by the open-market world price on which a protective tariff does not operate.

Thus the learned gentlemen on the Finance Committee face a real dilemma. For reasons of political expediency, at least, many of them would be perfectly willing to raise the agricultural rates to any point demanded by the agricultural interests. They are particularly willing to do this in view of the widely held view that agricultural tariffs are meaningless for the most part anyway. But if they raise the agricultural rates they will have the disciples of "compensatory" increase on their backs.

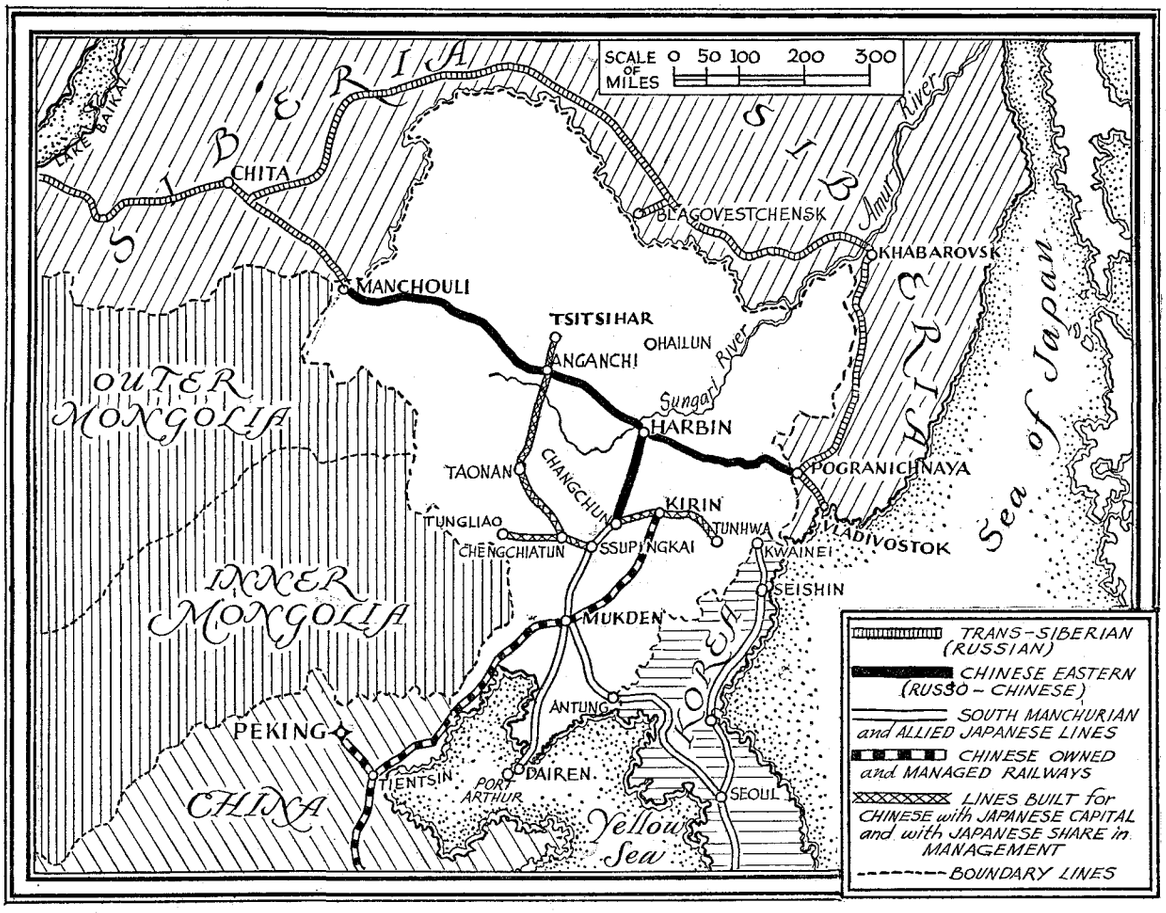
The other alternative is to reduce some of the industrial rates as a gesture toward the "economic parity" heretofore referred to. It may be a leaning toward this procedure which has caused the chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Smoot, to send out a call to the Tariff Commission for a list of commodities upon which the House granted increases and of which imports amount to less than ten per cent of domestic consumption. This move has been interpreted as forecasting a retention of existing rates on commodities in this category, the theory being that where American producers have been able to acquire ninety per cent or more of the market they may be able to worry along without additional protection.

Another move toward cutting down the general level of industrial rates was that of summoning a group of prominent automobile manufacturers to Washington to ask them if it was really true that they did not need the twenty-five per cent ad valorem and countervailing duties carried in the present law. The Ford Company advocated free trade but the other motor representatives insisted that the countervailing duties, at least, be retained, these duties being as high as forty-five per cent ad valorem in some instances.

As this is written there is real anxiety in Republican senatorial circles concerning the fate of the tariff bill. After prolonged and prayerful effort the Old Guard has succeeded for the time being in convincing Mr. Hoover that he is a Republican President and should stand for a Republican tariff bill. But their alliance with the White House is none too secure as was demonstrated by the recent comedy of errors when those two doughty Administration leaders, Watson of Indiana and Reed of Pennsylvania, breakfasted with the President. They returned to the Capitol and broadcasted the news that the President wanted a "sane and sensible" tariff to be measured by "the yardstick of adequate protection." That seemed innocuous enough to have a ring of truth, but hardly had the word been passed out—and printed—than a denial came forth from the White House. The source of the denial was that unquotable and unmentionable entity which has succeeded the ghostly "White House spokesman" of the Coolidge regime, but the denial was definite and authentic. The President, it was said, had not mentioned anything about "yardsticks" or "adequate protection." Then, to make the picture perfect, Senator Watson received a telephone message from the White House informing him that no denial had been issued. There has been, so far, no denial of the denial of the denial.

Lurking behind the maze of denials, committee manipulations, and star-chamber sessions is the ever-present specter of that afternoon in the Senate when only one vote—and that vote Democratic—stood between the Administration and the wrecking of the entire tariff-revision program. That was the day Senator Borah's resolution to restrict tariff revision to the agricultural and directly related schedules was defeated by a vote of 38 to 39. One of the votes against the Borah resolution was that of Senator Heflin, Alabama Democrat. Heflin had fallen out with Borah because the latter had opposed the Alabaman's demand that the Senate condemn some unnamed person who had thrown a beer bottle at Heflin when the latter delivered a Ku Klux speech at Brockton, Massachusetts, last March. A margin of one vote—and that vote Heflin's—is a slender thing upon which to rest the fate of a Republican Administration in a crisis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Chinese and the Chinese Eastern

By ERNEST K. MOY

THE GIST of the Chinese position in the Sino-Russian controversy involving the Chinese Eastern Railway may be stated in the answer to two questions: (1) Has China the right, in her own territory, to arrest and, if deemed expedient, to deport aliens caught participating in political agitation constituting a menace to the government? (2) If these foreign agitators happen to be connected with a railroad in China, does their arrest constitute a seizure of the railway? The Chinese answer to the first question is Yes; to the second it is No.

It will be remembered that the occasion of the present strained relations between China and Soviet Russia, entailing ruptured diplomatic intercourse, rumors of impending war, reported outbreak of hostilities, and the efforts of neutral governments to preserve peace, was the raid which the Chinese authorities conducted on the premises of the Russian Consulate in Harbin on May 27. The raid was undertaken in consequence of information reaching the local Chinese officials that members of the Communist Third International were scheduled to hold a meeting in the quarters of the Russian Consulate to discuss and formulate plans for the promotion of communist agitation in Manchuria and other parts of China.

About forty Russians were arrested as a result of the search which, the Chinese Government declared, netted documents showing, among other things, that these foreigners, including Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway, were parties to plans contemplating the destruction of Chinese property and the murder of Chinese officials by a communist "assassination corps."

If it is conceded that the Chinese Government has the right in this particular instance to arrest alien agitators against the public order, is that right materially modified because some of these aliens happen to be officials of a railway in China? And, in this case of the Chinese Eastern Railway, does the arrest of its Russian officials, who have been found to be parties to a conspiracy to undermine the Chinese Government, constitute a seizure of that railway?

It is the contention of the Chinese people that their government has an unquestionable moral as well as legal right to suppress any alien activities in Chinese territory that may be deemed inimical to public peace and the safety of that government. The arrest of the Russian officials is a matter aside from their connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway and therefore, does not constitute a "seizure" of that railway. Russia has the right, which China cannot dispute, to appoint other officials to fill the vacancies thus created by the arrests, provided the Soviet Government can disavow responsibility for the objectionable activities of its arrested citizens. At least theoretically this is the case.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But because of the official connections of the Russians who were arrested in the Harbin raid, and in view of the fact that they were also using the quarters of the Russian consulate, the question of treaty violation is involved.

In both the Peking and the Mukden treaties of 1924 there is the following provision to which China and Russia committed themselves:

> The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually pledge themselves not to permit within their respective territories the existence or activities of any organizations or groups whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either Contracting Party.
>
> The Governments of the two Contracting Parties further pledge themselves not to engage in propaganda directed against the political and social systems of either Contracting Party.

It is the contention of the Nanking Government that the evidence uncovered in the Harbin raid is conclusive proof of Soviet Russia's violation of the foregoing treaty stipulation. Russia, on the other hand, maintains that by ousting the Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway China has committed an unlawful act. Assuming that the Russian contention is correct, the Chinese maintain that such a charge constitutes no satisfactory reply to China's complaint of Russia's original violation of the treaty.

The Chinese Government has expressed its willingness to negotiate a settlement of the differences, but as the situation stands at the moment of writing, Russia insists upon the restoration of the status quo ante before she will consent to negotiation. This involves the release and reinstatement of the arrested officials of the railway. To comply with such a condition would necessarily entail implications which the Chinese Government could not admit. How the difficulty will be surmounted is of interest to those concerned with the technique of diplomatic "face-saving."

The important question to the Chinese people, however, concerns the ultimate and permanent solution of the Chinese Eastern Railway problem. No one questions the fact that this railway originated in the imperialistic schemes of Czarist Russia for territorial expansion in Eastern Asia. As long as Russia exercises any control over this line, the road will remain a symbol of the foreign imperialism which present-day China is determined to uproot. To regain complete sovereignty over the entire territory of China is the purpose of the present government in Nanking; it is the unanimous determination of the Chinese people. And, ironical as it is, Russia worked three years with China professedly to help the Chinese realize this aim.

What makes the Chinese distrustful of Russia today is the contradiction in the position of the Soviet Government. That government has posed and is posing as the friend of all oppressed people who are victims of foreign imperialism. That government recognized that the Chinese Eastern Railway was an expression of this imperialism and, in 1920, it offered to restore the road to China "without demanding any kind of compensation." It experienced a very decided change of heart, however; for in the treaty of 1924 Russia was content with nothing less than the management of the railway. To the Chinese this meant only one thing: Capitalistic imperialism had simply given place to Soviet imperialism.

Nor was this attitude changed during the period of Russian cooperation with the Nationalist movement. Within the Kuomintang there were many who were irrevocably opposed to accepting Russian assistance in the ambitious project of bringing China under the Nationalist regime, because they suspected Russia's motives. The majority, however, were willing to match wits with Russia; not believing that Russia's proffered friendship was motivated by pure altruism, they were yet willing to accept her material help.

The majority of the Kuomintang leadership felt then that the policy of Soviet Russia toward China was not different from that of Czarist Russia, nor was the method of giving effect to that policy different. In a scholarly treatise on China's foreign relations, a Chinese author described Czarist Russia's policy in China as one of "territorial expansion." "To carry out this policy astutely," he wrote, "she adopted a method of reaching her ends which was unique and, at the same time, unscrupulous. That is, she always pretended to be the friend of the weaker state which she aimed to absorb or annex by extending the protection of her alliance to the latter." It was the opinion of the Kuomintang leaders that this was the policy of Soviet Russia also. They believed that it was the purpose of Moscow to sovietize the whole of China just as she had succeeded in sovietizing a part of China in Outer Mongolia. The circumstances attending and leading up to the present controversy tend only to strengthen this conviction.

What are the possible solutions that would satisfy the Chinese? The existing treaties between China and Russia afford the latter an opportunity to remove suspicion from the mind of the Chinese people. The original understanding with Czarist Russia provided that the Chinese Eastern Railway would be turned over to China "free of charge" after the expiration of eighty years. In the Mukden Agreement of 1924 this period was reduced to sixty years. To provide for the possibility of a further modification the following paragraph was added:

> The question of further reducing the aforementioned period of sixty years may be taken up for consideration with the approval of the two Contracting Parties.

This provision would enable Russia to repeat and stand by the grand gesture she made in 1920: to return the railway to China "without demanding any kind of compensation."

Soviet Russia today, however, may not be in a position to indulge the generosity she seemed ready to show in 1920. Or perhaps she may believe that the Chinese would not appreciate it. In that case she can sell her interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway to China. There is a provision in both the Peking and the Mukden agreement under which China may redeem the road at a "fair cost." A satisfactory arrangement for the redemption of the road by China on a basis perhaps similar to the one connected with the redemption of the Shantung Railway from Japan might be practicable. And still it may not be within the means of China today to buy out Russia.

To maintain the existing arrangement unaltered will be without question to maintain an active cause of continued suspicion and antipathy on the part of the Chinese people. An American editor summarized the situation succinctly when he wrote: "The Chinese Eastern Railway is not a local issue; it is a symbol of the foreign influence which the Chinese are determined to tolerate no longer."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Eastern*

By HAROLD KELLOCK

THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY was built in the nineties with capital furnished by the Czarist Government. Economically it was and is a short line of great value, cutting off about 1,000 miles between Chita and Vladivostok as compared with the main line of the Trans-Siberian railway which curves northward in Russian territory along the line of the Amur river. What devious non-economic purposes the bureaucrats of St. Petersburg had in mind need not particularly concern us here. After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 they ceased to be operative.

The position of the railway in respect to the new order in Russia was not regularized until the spring of 1924 when the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government signed a treaty with certain clauses relating to the status of the railway and a supplementary agreement for the provisional management of the road.

This treaty was unique among those signed by a Chinese Government in recent times with any European power, in that it was a treaty between equals, with no European mailed fist menacing the Chinese signers. In fact it was a treaty notable for its abnegations on the part of the Soviet Government. In 1919 and 1920 the newly-formed Soviet Government in Russia had declared that it abandoned forthwith all extra-territorial rights and territorial concessions exacted from various Chinese Governments by the Czarist power. The treaty of 1924 was a formal expression of these renunciations. In it the Soviet Government agreed to scrap the old Czarist imperialist agreements. It declared null and void all treaties and agreements between the Czarist Government and other powers affecting the sovereign rights and interests of China. It renounced the Russian portion of the Boxer indemnity. It renounced the special rights and privileges relating to all concessions acquired by the Czarist Government. It abandoned the rights of extra-territoriality and consular jurisdiction. In every respect it restored China, so far as its Slavic neighbor was concerned, to the dignity of a fully independent and self-responsible nation. The precedent established by this treaty was certainly beyond price so far as Chinese nationalism was concerned.

In respect to the Chinese Eastern Railway, built by capital originating in the sweat of the Russian workers and peasants, the spirit of the treaty was fully carried out. Under the original agreement with the Czarist Government the territory through which the railway ran became in effect an imperial province of the St. Petersburg bureaucracy. The Russian officers and employees of the road, along with all other Russian nationals, were not subject to the jurisdiction of any Chinese law or Chinese courts. A special Czarist gendarmerie "protected" the road and under this armed force the Russians virtually usurped all civil powers in the territory through which the road passed.

These imperialist arrangements were scrapped in the treaty of 1924. The first clause of Article IX of the treaty makes a decisive clearance of them. It reads:

> (1) The Governments of the two Contracting Parties declare that the Chinese Eastern Railway is a purely commercial enterprise.
>
> The Governments of the Contracting Parties mutually declare that with the exception of matters pertaining to the business operations, which are under the direct control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, all other matters affecting the rights of the National and the Local Governments of the Republic of China—such as judicial matters, matters relating to civil administration, military administration, police, municipal government, taxation, and landed property (with the exception of lands required by the said railway)—shall be administered by the Chinese authorities.

The original Czarist agreement on the road included a trick recapture clause, whereby the Chinese after 36 years could take possession at a price which vaguely included the capital involved, plus all debts incurred, plus accrued interest. It was not the sort of recapture agreement intended to be taken seriously. In the treaty of 1924 the Soviet Government agreed without condition that the road could be redeemed by the Chinese Government, the details to be fixed at a later conference. This conference has not yet been held. For a time China was plunged in civil war, with no internal authority in a position to speak for the whole country. Since the Nationalist Government gained power it has made no effort to effect an orderly agreement for the future redemption of the road.

In connection with the treaty the two governments signed an agreement for the management and operation of the road. This provided for a board of ten directors, five appointed by each government. The president of the board was to be a Chinese. The manager of the road was to be a Soviet citizen. Officers and employes were to be divided equally between the two nationalities.

Without preliminary warning, early in July, the Chinese authorities in Manchuria seized the persons of Soviet officers of the road, and of many Soviet railway workers, deprived them of their positions, and expelled many of them from the country under conditions of hardship. The Soviet portion of the management of the railway was wiped out at one swoop, and the treaty of 1924 was turned into a scrap of paper. A desultory series of violent acts against Soviet consulates in Manchuria, and also in other parts of China, preceded this snatching of the railway. No adequate explanation of the abrupt violation of the treaty was obtainable either from the authorities in Manchuria or from the Nationalist Government. Meanwhile refugees struggling over the Manchurian border brought with them tales of armed bodies of Czarist refugees advancing towards Soviet territory. The memory of these relics of Czarist militarism, as Mr. Walter Duranty of the New York *Times* remarked in a recent dispatch, is written in blood in the mind of every Siberian peasant family; not in generations will they forget Kolchak and Semenoff.

* This article is a personal interpretation by Mr. Kellock. It is in no sense an official Soviet statement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Soviet Government sent a request to the Nationalist Government for explanations and a conference. The reply of the Chinese Government, as reported in the press, was not in any sense a reply. It contained but two positive statements, each wholly irrelevant as an explanation of the breaking of the five-year-old treaty and the seizure of the railway.

One statement was a demand that the Soviet Government immediately release the Chinese imprisoned in the Soviet Union. These, the correspondents were told, numbered about 1,000. In fact, the only Chinese in prison in the Soviet Union were a negligible number of opium traders, smugglers and white slavers.

The other statement was equally disingenuous—it was to the effect that the seizure of the road was necessary because certain unnamed Soviet citizens had been carrying on unspecified "Bolshevik propaganda." Assuming that this were true, and that some enthusiastic Soviet officials and workers had been transmitting Marxian pamphlets among the illiterate peasants and herdsmen in Manchuria, this would be only a comic-opera excuse for tearing up the whole treaty. The treaty contained a clause against propaganda directed to the overthrow of either Government. A large proportion of the scores of thousands of Czarist relicts in Manchuria, on the other hand, without molestation, spend most of their time plotting the overthrow of the Soviet Government. If certain Soviet railway officials or workers were conspiring to spread anti-Nationalist doctrines, that surely could be taken care of by a little simple negotiation. The very fact that the Chinese authorities did not attempt to take the matter up in an orderly and regular way, and clear up the misunderstanding, lends point to a suspicion that the "propaganda" story was a pretext.

Dispatches from Harbin have intimated that documentary evidence of "propaganda" was discovered in the raids on Soviet consulates that preceded the seizure of the railway. These violations of the traditional immunities of consular offices have been more or less a feature of Soviet consular life in China since the Soviet Government abandoned extra-territorial rights for its citizens. After Chang-Tso-lin had conducted a series of such raids he announced that his raiders, or rather the former Czarist officers who accompanied them, had discovered documents implicating Soviet consular officers in "subversive propaganda." The documents seemed plausible, until Chang-Tso-lin unfortunately published some facsimiles. The facsimiles bore the stamp of forgery on their own face. They were written in the pre-revolutionary alphabet and spellings no longer used in the Soviet Union by anyone. The Russian alphabet was revised after the revolution, and for a dozen years only the emigrès have used the letters that have been dropped.

After the reception of the casuistical Chinese note, apparently a hangover of the war-lord psychology, the Soviet Government summoned home its diplomatic and consular representatives in China and broke off relations. It announced that as soon as China restored the legal status quo under the treaty it stood ready to negotiate a settlement of all matters in dispute. Obviously it is now awaiting the sober second thought of the Nationalist Government.

Meanwhile the successors of the war lords hold the road, but the lucrative through traffic has ceased, the two termini are blank walls. The Soviet citizens who spend annually $8,000,000 for tea in China each year will purchase it elsewhere. Their total trade of $25,000,000 a year with China will be broken off.

War? Newspaper dispatches have rumbled war ever since the railway was seized. The Soviet Government has made it clear that it will make no invasion of Chinese territory. It was, I believe, the first European Government to ratify the Kellogg pact renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. It went further in getting its immediate neighbors on the west to sign with it an agreement making the pact immediately effective as among them. The acting head of the Soviet Government has formally stated that that Government will observe the pact in the present crisis.

Aside from sentiment, the Soviet Union has good practical reasons for adhering to a policy of peace. It inherited a country in ruins. Its first five years of life were a bitter struggle against insurrections, invasions and starvation, all of which intensified the economic disorganization. The Soviet Union has literally pulled itself up out of the ruins by its own bootstraps. It has embarked on a carefully drawn five-year plan of development, which will give it a real place in modern economic progress. All the energies of the country are absorbed in the carrying out of that plan. War, even a little war, would severely cripple the effort for lifting the Soviet Union far above the low levels of Czarist medievalism and establishing a high grade of social well-being. It is fair to give the Soviet leaders credit for a realistic sense of proportion. "National honor" is a fine phrase, but good schools and healthy children are better realities. The advantages of having red soldiers camped along the ruins of the Chinese Eastern are far outweighed by the disadvantages of a war budget absorbing the revenues of the country.

The breaking of the 1924 treaty and the accompanying acts of violence against Soviet citizens will injure the Chinese Nationalist Government more than they injure the Soviet Government or the people of the Soviet state. What influences impelled the Nationalist leaders to this peculiar break can only be guessed at from this distance. The most sympathetic guess can hardly be creditable to them.

Vernon Louis Parrington

By RUSSELL BLANKENSHIP

THE sudden death of Professor V. L. Parrington of the University of Washington closed with tragic abruptness a life whose influence had only recently broadened from strictly local to national scope. For more than twenty years Mr. Parrington had done vivid and stimulating teaching; and yet, aside from his colleagues in the English department and his almost fanatically devoted students, his reputation was limited to a very small academic circle. For years he had made a first-hand study of every document of major importance in the development of the American mind, publishing scarcely anything, but reading, writing, and revising with tireless energy. Until a year ago when the first two volumes of his "Main Currents in American Thought" won the Pulitzer Prize, Mr. Parrington's unrivaled knowledge of American intellectual development was almost completely unrecognized. But in the last

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two years the recognition that was so long delayed came abundantly.

In his short sketch in "Who's Who" Mr. Parrington wrote himself down as a Democrat and an Episcopalian. One can imagine his rather cryptic smile as he did so; for his religion was far removed from that usually associated with Episcopalian doctrine and practice, and his great passion in politics was democracy with a small "d," regardless of party labels. The one American churchman for whom he had nothing but praise was Theodore Parker, and Parker was singled out because of his belief in evolutionary religion and especially because of his sermon "On the Transient and Permanent in Christianity." In this sermon Parker waived as immaterial the long-cherished dogmas of theology and accepted as permanent only the simple but untried social teachings of Jesus. Mr. Parrington's open admiration for Parker and his equally open contempt for much that passes current as religion did not endear the late professor of English to those churches that have surrounded the university campus with the obvious if unexpressed intent to counteract the "subversive" views of such men. Fortunately the Parrington virus was usually too powerful for ecclesiastical therapeutics.

In politics, as in religion, Mr. Parrington was a militant democrat, and a democrat he would define as one who loves liberty, both in theory and in practice, and hates ignorance, injustice, and intolerance. His study of American thought was dedicated to J. Alden Smith,

> "Scholar Teacher Democrat Gentleman
> omnium Amicus erat
> qui
> Justiciam amant"

There are those who insist that in that dedication the author wrote his own epitaph, true in every stroke.

Like all men to whom individual liberty means something real, Mr. Parrington preferred to study the rise of freedom in America rather than to contemplate its recent debacle. No one in his seminar can ever forget his discriminating treatment of such libertarians as Roger Williams, Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, Garrison, Lincoln, Eugene Debs, and the late Senator La Follette. Under the hand of the historian past politics became present issues. American literature became a masculine thing worthy of a treatment different from that dictated by the Genteel Tradition. Current politics Mr. Parrington watched closely, but it is to be doubted if he had a political party. Almost forty years ago in a small town in Kansas he ran for the school board on the Populist ticket. That action is the surest clue to his political doctrines, for the man was always an agrarian democrat. One of his most frequent quotations was the cryptic remark made by Emerson when industrialism began to overshadow the buoyant individualism of New England: "Things are in the saddle." And "things" in the shape of the instruments of industrialization Mr. Parrington always loathed. No man deplored more than he the passing of the American small farmer with his traditional independence, his physiocratic economics, and his rooted equalitarian principles. Agrarianism today is outmoded, and its votaries are politically homeless, but some men would rather be homeless than to be housed with incompatible fellows.

In his work-a-day philosophy, also, Mr. Parrington freely acknowledged his allegiance to a doctrine that is of the past. The high idealism of such men as Emerson, Thoreau, Garrison, and Parker, their cheery faith in the divine self-sufficiency of the individual, and their contempt for society-made creeds and catchwords set the pitch for the life of this twentieth-century thinker. Few men today have the courage to consider transcendental individualism more notable than a new airport, or agrarian ideals more important than "a million people in Seattle by 1940." Such courage Mr. Parrington had in ample quantity. If any epoch of American development gave him as much pleasure as the Golden Day of the forties, it was the period of ebullient liberalism brought to an untimely close by the World War.

Critics of Mr. Parrington's published work will inevitably arise. The scope of the study was too great and the way too inaccurately charted for any man to travel with unerring precision. But the chief criticism will concern the fundamental point of view; for Mr. Parrington was frankly a liberal and an economic determinist. "Der Mensch ist was er isst," he never wearied of saying, and his liberalism is openly acknowledged on his first page. By so forthright an admission the author drew the sting of many a critic.

Although Mr. Parrington carefully indicated that he was eschewing aesthetic considerations in his study of American literature, it should not be assumed that he was insensitive to verbal beauty. His own style will belie any such assumption, and besides, one of his earliest bits of writing was a warmly appreciative estimate of "The Incomparable Mr. Cabell." Mr. Cabell's appeal was twofold: his matchless prose and his literary and intellectual significance. Poe suffered cavalier dismissal not because he could write, but because he is of no significance in the development of the American mind.

The final estimate of Mr. Parrington must be made on the basis of his published work. On such a basis he must be accounted the flintiest defender of democracy that twentieth-century America has thus far produced. To him equalitarian simplicity in word and act and the right to live one's own life in one's own way were as fundamental as ever they were to any democrat of an earlier, less-regimented society.

We who worked with him can never forget the man as he came into the classroom and seated himself, with easy disdain for academic proprieties, upon the long table that stretched across the front of the room. From this vantage-point, swinging one foot and smiling blandly, he would suddenly pounce upon a student with a volley of Socratic questions that usually shocked the victim into awed silence. Hardier or less sophisticated students would sally to the aid of the distressed one, and the noise of verbal combat would fill the room, only to subside in private debates that frequently were protracted long after the clanging chimes brought the academic day to an official close. Taking notes in a Parrington class was almost impossible, but it was wholly impossible to leave a single session without carrying away some pithy comment that illuminated a whole section of our national life or letters. Above all one carried away a stimulus to labor and to still greater labor. The stimulating presence of the man, the unfeigned interest in our trivial investigations, the unfailing urbanity of manner, and the guiding touch of the skilled instructor are gone forever, but the books and the vivifying memories are left us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

HAY is still made on our farms, the Drifter is glad to discover, because he has seen the process going on within the last few weeks. Until then he had begun to wonder if haymaking was not an extinct industry, because all the stories he heard were of people who tried to give away crops of hay on the hoof, so to speak, and could find no takers. Time was when anybody with a few acres of likely grass would be visited by a nearby farmer who would offer to cut and haul it off, paying a fair sum for the privilege. Then, as the automobile spread, the offers were merely to cut and take away the hay. Finally the time seems to have arrived when one has to go out and coax somebody to accept the grass as a gift, and then, after an unenthusiastic taker has been found, he commonly forgets to come and cut it.

* * * * *

BUT lately the Drifter has been reassured that hay is still made, not only because he has seen the process going on but also because he has read an appreciation of haying in the Minneapolis *Journal,* which calls the occupation the most romantic of all farm work. The Drifter is more impressed by the words of the newspaper than by his recent glimpse of haying, which seemed somewhat less magnificent than his boyhood recollections. The Drifter left the farm too young ever to have sat in the seat of the mighty at haying time, that is to have run a mower. It was always his ambition to do so, and he thought then—and thinks today—that he would have made good. The Drifter agrees with the Minneapolis *Journal* that nothing on a farm has quite the zest of driving the clicking teeth of a mowing machine through thick red clover or tall timothy behind two fine horses. But the Drifter had the next best job; he used to ride the hayrake, collecting the beautifully fragrant new-dried grass and dumping it in windrows as straight and regular as possible. Also he was allowed to help load the wagons, standing on top and tramping the hay down as it was thrown up. Somebody more skilful than he was up there too, distributing the hay and piling it scientifically until the horses were almost obscured and the load had reached a prodigious height, towering, as the Drifter recalls it, about to the summit of Mount McKinley. Then there was the ride to the barn, perhaps the best part of all the fine drama of haying. And at the barn the Drifter had another job. He led the horse which ran the fork by which the hay was snatched in great gobs from the wagon, swung up to an opening in the top of the barn, and dropped safely inside.

* * * * *

YES, haying is—or was—the pinnacle or romance on a farm. Harvesting is more monotonous, and the grain field lacks the fragrance of the meadow overlaid with new-dried hay. The most eminent perfume makers of France have yet to produce a choicer scent. But probably it is well that the Drifter left the farm before he was promoted to the seat of a mowing machine, and it is a fair guess that the writer in the Minneapolis *Journal* hasn't worked in a hayfield in twenty years. Actual farmers are an ungrateful lot with but little appreciation of their blessings, even when reminded of them by folks in the city. No doubt the farmer is what the politician calls him, the "backbone of the nation," but his only evidence of that fact is that the end of the day so often finds him with a backache.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Jingoism and the Press

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest "England and America," by Charles E. Payne. However, I feel that like many other writers for *The Nation* Mr. Payne does the press of the United States injustice when he uses such phrases as "There is much evidence that even now the American public is beginning to resent the kind of foreign news service it has thus far received—." A few lines farther on he says, seeming to realize this injustice, "It is only just to add that an influential part of our press and the better weeklies on both sides of the Atlantic have done yeoman service in this same direction." These two statements are too contradictory to justify the sweeping innuendo contained in the first.

It is perfectly true the Hearst press is a jingo note in the newspaper symphony. But there are only twenty-nine Hearst papers in the United States, which has more than 2,000 newspapers published daily. Does Mr. Payne consider that the Associated Press, the United Press, and such papers as the Chicago *Daily News,* the New York *World,* the New York *Times,* and scores of others are deliberately presenting distorted pictures of affairs in the nations in which they are represented? I doubt it. His entire essay is too well balanced and sensible to admit of such an assumption. But that is substantially what he implies.

As a matter of fact Mr. Payne should know that today the American public is receiving a truer picture of other peoples, more unbiased and factual news, and more honest and intelligent editorial opinion on not only foreign but domestic affairs than any other people in the world. I make this statement without reservations and every experienced American journalist knows it to be true.

Rochester, N. Y., July 15 PAUL BENTON

Injustice to Germany

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just finished reading the editorial in your issue of June 19, entitled The Liquidation of the War. This is a hard life. I suppose we must be grateful for small things and rejoice that a settlement of some sort was reached. But at the same time should be remembered the fundamental facts that all the leading warring nations had a share in bringing on the war, that the responsibility of none of them can be measured in money, and that hence to demand any payment at all from Germany beyond a share in the rehabilitation of devasted territory is basically unjust.

Those who believe that the reparations settlement has laid the cornerstone of a peaceful Europe should feel the intensity of the resentment against it in Germany. For the jingoists and reactionaries it is raw meat, and even the Socialists find it very difficult to hang on to their international idealism when they see their country being so consistently kicked by the rest of the world.

Ilagen in Westfalen, Germany, July 2 SPEAR KNEBEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southern Race Prejudice

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: *The Nation* is inclined to overestimate the race prejudice of the South. If Mrs. Hoover should entertain a family of Negroes at the White House for a week-end the South would not "storm" so much as you seem to think. The ripple in the South caused by Mrs. De Priest's visit to the White House was as much of interest as it was of resentment. Of course the old Southern mind still works in a subconscious way as manifested by the actions of some of the Southern State senates, but the more alert Southerners looked upon the incident only with interest.

Lynchburg, Va., July 8 T. Y. Steptoe

Loyalty and Liquor

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: If naturalization courts cannot be satisfied with general declarations of loyalty to the constitution and laws of the United States, but must question a candidate for naturalization narrowly about his willingness to conform in this or that particular respect, why in the name of Mahershalalhashbaz don't they catechize them about their loyalty to the law that there is most danger of their being disloyal to, that is, the Volstead Law?

Steven T. Byington

Ballard Vale, Massachusetts, July 7

Money for Gastonia

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The American Civil Liberties Union would greatly appreciate an opportunity to clarify for its friends among your readers certain facts bearing on the relation of the Union to the defense of the Gastonia cases which will come to trial July 29.

A number of clear civil liberties issues are involved, such as the right to organize and to strike, the right to hold lawful meetings and enjoy free speech, the right to be unmolested in a private domain, the right of private opinion, and the right to a fair trial in court. But the overshadowing fact in this case is that men and women are being held for their lives on strictly criminal charges. In such a situation civil liberties issues, however important, are necessarily subordinate. We therefore recognize the reasonableness of the insistence by the International Labor Defense, which specializes in working-class cases and has a particular interest in this group of defendants, that the defense should be conducted under that organization's sole sponsorship.

At the same time the American Civil Liberties Union is keenly and sympathetically interested. Conscious of that interest and anxious to be helpful, many of our friends have been asking us to receive contributions for the support of the case. While we cannot under the circumstances ask for such contributions, we have decided to form a fund for the convenience of those who would like to help. Such amounts as we receive will be turned over to John R. Neal of the defense counsel to be disbursed at his discretion strictly for legal defense and expenses. Checks may be made payable to the American Civil Liberties Union and mailed to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

New York, July 25 Forrest Bailey

The Gangster

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of July 10 you give a very interesting account of the research of Dr. William J. Hickson into the case of the gangster. The gangster is the ideal soldier from the drill sergeant's viewpoint. "He does not kill for revenge. He is superstitious and talks a great deal about religion. He is sentimental and has a childlike code of honor. Shooting is part of his business. He kills without a quickening of the pulse and he can die without a tremor."

The official instructions to recruits tell the initiate that he must put away all ideas of chivalry or sportsmanship, and that he must cease to think, and learn only to obey. Has not the gangster these qualifications well developed in addition to the other soldierly qualities enumerated? The obvious outlet for the gangster's energy is an American equivalent of the French Foreign Legion, the Algerian regiment, one of the most efficient military associations in the world. I submit this solution in all seriousness. We have been given such a silly idea of the soldier that many might jump to the conclusion that this letter is ironical. Let us face the facts like intelligent beings and we have found the drill sergeant's ideal soldier.

Oakland, Calif., July 17 E. Scott

***The Nation* Radio Hour—Every Monday at 8 P. M.**
526M.—WMCA—570 K.
August 5—Mr. Blanshard
August 12—Mr. Mussey

Contributors to This Issue

William C. Murphy, Jr., is on the staff of the tariff bureau of the New York *World*.

Ernest K. Moy is American director of the Kuo Min News Agency of China.

Harold Kellock is an American journalist, now connected with the Soviet Union Information Bureau.

Russell Blankenship is associate professor of English at Whitman College.

Eda Lou Walton is the editor of "A City Day," an anthology of city poetry.

Alice Beal Parsons's new novel, "The Insider," has recently been published.

J. A. Hobson is a foremost British economist and a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

Anita Brenner contributes to *The Nation* frequently on Latin-American topics.

William MacDonald is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation*.

William Seagle is on the staff of the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences and is co-author of "To the Pure. . . ."

Luther Emerson Robinson is professor of English at Monmouth College and author of "Abraham Lincoln As a Man of Letters."

K. K. Kawakami is Washington representative of the Osaka *Mainichi*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Fiddler's Green

BY AUDREY WURDEMANN

The boatman winnowed by a windy wrath
Will find him here a quarter from the storm
That takes him suddenly—his rest be warm
Where phosphorescent fishes light his path.

The waves are fitting cerements for sailors.
Let the white foam be delicate and kind
To all the earthly ones who have a mind
To probe these winding caverns with their oars.

They will sink down to quiet here, and turn
From restless flesh to peaceful, silent things,
And little silver fish with fins like wings
Will thread the ways from rib to rib, and learn

The spacing of the eyes, hands warped by sails,
The wonder of hard wrists and ankles set
Point within point; and then they will forget,
In chasing golden minnows' flashing tails.

Such is this haven; sullen waters bless
These coraled bones. Here is a final home,
A sunken city far beneath the foam,
Where all is thunder and then quietness.

Loneliness

By EDA LOU WALTON

Down the dark funnel speeding
Like a flame and gone,
Steel-coupled day; and every windowed face
Receded with a flicker, and the one
Memory a whistle struck on air.
No station anywhere, no tree gone bare
Holding its widowed strength to a warm wall.
Tunnel on tunnel, in and out, the flash
Of day across the forehead like a lash,
Then tears and the recessional of light.

Somewhere within the pound of steel
The sun gone down, and twilight like a wheel
Whirled on a star between two mouths of dark;
Then acrid and eternal the curved night
To circumscribe a brain. Too smooth for pain
The undulating flight waning
To stunned acceptance.
Contained within a circle and denied
The lanced side, the thorn-crowned brow,
Downward and downward sucked to center now
In slackened and reiterative speed,
Till earth is funneled upward from the breast,
And all rock roaring downward,
And the crushed heart may bleed,
And slow to rest.

Mary Webb

Precious Bane, Gone To Earth, Armour Wherein He Trusted, Poems and The Spring of Joy, The House in Dormer Forest, Seven for a Secret, The Golden Arrow. By Mary Webb. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50 each.

WE are only beginning to apprehend the loss literature suffered when Mary Webb died on October 8, 1927; its full extent we shall be many years learning. That she should have died before her time and through the privations of poverty, becomes a sorer wound to me with each of these lovely books I read; for she who could not afford the necessary care to save her life and who stood in the Shrewsbury Market selling her vegetables and flowers, gave bounteously as only a few can ever give. Her gifts stand now on my shelves, all nicely bound, all nicely printed, all introduced by famous men and women who were able to recognize genius while it still lived among them, but I who write and many of you who read have come to her too late to help the passionate loving woman who lived.

There are those who can love only the sort of country they know, mountain dwellers who look with aversion on the plain, and plains dwellers who are stifled in the mountains. Such will need to be led gently to Mary Webb, or to be told that she belongs to the small company of great writers and that one should approach her with respectful awe as one does Dr. Eliot's shelf; for her country is her own. Like the land of "Seven for a Secret," it lies "between the dimpled lands of England and the gaunt purple steeps of Wales—half in Faery and half out of it." Her people are her own. Their speech, observed with tender fidelity, is the rich idiom of Shropshire, their lives such as were lived in Shropshire in their several days; but she has woven them and the sights and sounds and scents among which they lived into patterns that are like the webs the poet spins. Seeming often to be as unlike everyday day as "Wuthering Heights" or "The Cenci," they nevertheless hold everyday life within them.

Robert Lynd writes of her that she "has that always fascinating quality of genius, imaginative energy," and that for this energy we will forgive her her defects, as we do "Dumas, the seventy times seven to be forgiven," and Victor Hugo and Emily Brontë. I prefer to take her without forgiveness, without asking the wild deer to be a blooded hunter, or White of Selborne to write like Thackeray or Lamb; and yet I know why he uses the word. Taken literally there is a naive wish-fulfilment quality in all the tales. The wicked perish and the righteous prevail. One thread is repeated in each pattern, that of the physically ill-favored but intrinsically beautiful woman who wins in time the one perfect man. Mrs. Webb exhausts her ingenuity in devising situations that unexpectedly reveal this woman in her own true beauty; and the situations she contrives are those a romantic young girl sighing for her lover would dream. But there is also wisdom in this naivete, and the books are not to be taken literally.

Their author will go down as one of the great writers of our time. Few have loved the English countryside as passionately as she, and only one or two have united to such love a keenness and precision of observation so great that it is a constant joy to read her pages.

> There are the twisted hawthorne trees,
> Thick-set with buds, as clear and pale
> As golden water or green hail. . . .

"The pollen grain of chicory—an outer and inner hexagon united by rays—is a rose-window in a shrine of lapis lazuli.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It needs no light behind it, for it illumines itself." Old-country legends, salty gossip, delighted her, and she has woven them richly into her pages. Wherever her emotions were not involved she had a lively sense of character, and quite as lively a talent for making it live. Her Jonathan at odds with the material world should live with Touchstone, her Enoch with some of Tolstoy's wise earthy men. "Missus Miller was a poor creature like a mealworm, but very pleasant spoken. Sexton's missus was just the opposite. She always made me think of a new painted coach, big and wide, with an open road, and the horn blowing loud and cheerful, and full speed ahead. . . ." Gideon, "with the wounded look that is ever on the faces of men between the coming of the lust of the eye and its satisfying." Her lyrical prose has a precise and tender beauty; and on every page she expressed her glowing love of life.

ALICE BEAL PARSONS

Poor Law

English Poor Law History. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. *Part I—The Old Poor Law.* $8.50. *Part II—The Last Hundred Years.* Two volumes. $14. Longmans, Green and Company.

TWO years ago Part I of this monumental work saw the light of day. This spring two portly volumes containing Part II brought to a conclusion what is perhaps the most heroic literary task of our age. For thirty years this incomparable pair have been turning out volumes, laden with original research of materials and minute analysis, upon the structure and functions of English local government. They have done this work amid an immense variety of other political, economic and literary activities connected with the reform movements of the time.

It cannot be pretended that these volumes of Poor Law History are easy reading. Every aspect of our local government has lent itself to variations so numerous as to baffle any generalizing process. Particularly is this true of Poor Law administration. Our early Poor Laws, going back to the Statute of Laborers (1350) were for the most part a series of penal attempts to thrust back the free laborer into the serfdom from which he sought to escape, dealing with issues of Settlement and Vagrancy. The Elizabethan Poor Law was essentially a codification and extension of this process, until in the late Eighteenth Century, the forces of the Industrial Revolution broke the bonds of the older local life, and, by the Speenhamland policy of rate allowances in aid of wages, imposed wholesale pauperism on Southern England. The visible degradations thus brought about, together with the challenge of the new doctrines of Population and of Wages, compelled the Government to take action, and the Royal Commission of 1832 was followed by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The two volumes of the Webbs describe in detail the evolution within the framework of this Act of a new method of handling problems of destitution.

While the Act of 1834 remained essentially a framework of repression, its administration was continually modified, and the growth of new outside social-economic policies brought its activities more and more into preventive channels. It is in many ways a pathetic, even a tragic, story of the conflict between a repressive policy, dictated by fear, greed, and class bias, and the new spirit of democracy and humanity. From 1834 onwards through the nineteenth century the repressive policy was gradually modified by new structures in the shape of Factory Codes, Education and Public Health Acts, Pension and Insurance. These provisions taken in conjunction with improvements in the character of Poor Law institutions, and the growth of specialized provisions for the sick, the old, the insane, the blind, the children, were found to impair the repressive policy which still remained the orthodox official view. The poorer classes showed less reluctance to accept poor relief, and there was a disquieting growth in the number of recipients of relief and the cost. Hence the appointment of the Commission of 1905-1907 in which Mrs. Webb played such an active part, followed by the launching of an agitation for the break-up of the whole system of Poor Law, and the delegation of its remaining functions to specialized preventive and curative institutions. A large part of this final volume is concerned with the closely related problems of able-bodied pauperism and unemployment. The chapters treating Unemployment as a Modern Disease are particularly deserving of attention, discussing as they do the origins, character and effects of the disease in relation to the defective organization of our economic system. Though seemingly immersed in a flood of local detail, the writers preserve throughout a firm grasp of the larger significance of their problem expressed in the conflict between the two doctrines of "adequate relief" and "less eligibility." How safely to give relief, either "indoor" or "outdoor," that is sufficient to preserve the health and efficiency of destitute families, in a society where wages are so low and irregular, housing so unsanitary and wretched as is still the case with the lowest-paid of our workers in town and country, is indeed a problem that baffles separate solution. The problem can only be solved as an integral part of the wider problem of democracy. "The idols of 1834 have fallen because their clay feet were in the gutter: the ideals of the future must stand on the rock of a general well-being, a deliberately prescribed and effectively enforced National Minimum of Civilized Life."

J. A. HOBSON

The Mysterious Aborigine

Old Civilizations of the New World. By A. Hyatt Verrill. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $5.

THE ideal outline of native American history has not yet been written, and it may never be, because the task is formidable. Awe of ancient peoples is common to most authors not very familiar with their records, and a clear account can hardly be expected under such an affliction. A professional archaeologist seldom takes any attitude but that of the detective he resembles by the nature of his work, but his account is usually technical, and unless he knows a great deal about his subject he can rarely write simply enough for popular consumption. Most attempts suffer from this lack of profound familiarity, and from the habit of speaking of human phenomena in the limited terms of science; and from dull writing.

"Old Civilizations of the New World" is no exception to this unfortunate precedent. The author, an explorer and collector in Central America, has followed a previous "popular account" of the North American Indian with this volume about the organized civilizations of the New World. In relation to this area the book compares favorably with Paul Radin's recent poetic account because Mr. Verrill gives much more information and includes numerous and interesting illustrations. However, Mr. Verrill's notion of "popularizing" appears to be limited to the literary device of sprinkling many superlative adjectives through a diffuse text. To call the Mayas, Peruvians, Aztecs, and other of our cultured neighbors astounding, amazing, remarkable, unique, incredible, fascinating may sound impressive, but it is not very good reporting, particularly since the book is less clear to the average uninformed but interested reader than, for example, Joyce's older archaeological handbooks, and less entertaining than Stephens's or Charnay's travels in the Maya territory.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Possibly for sensational effect, Mr. Verrill insists that there is something extremely mysterious about the development of the great American civilizations. How could mere Indians think out an astronomical calendar, build pyramids, practice agriculture and medicine, make symmetrical and delicate pottery, weave and dye so intricately, with so few mechanical instruments? How could they carve hard stone with no other chisel or drill than stone or bone and sand, how engrave jade and crystal jewels, how smelt copper, silver, gold with little other resource than well-trained hands and eyes? And how travel as far as they did on foot, or sail so many hundred miles in open boats with no motors?

These questions would probably not be puzzles and problems to a Chinese, an Egyptian, an ancient Greek. The Mycenaeans engraved jewels before they acquired iron. Indeed, most of the Old World civilization we respect so highly was achieved without the aid of much machinery. We have in so many ways substituted instruments for skill, imagination, ingenuity that these qualities acquire for us the glamor of forgotten chemical or mechanical secrets, or their possessors seem to us mysterious supermen. Mr. Verrill is so naively the doubting foreigner that he made what he calls a "test"; he put several natives to carving in the way he thought it might have been done, giving them ancient stone implements to use; and their inexperienced efforts proved to him conclusively that, although no traces of iron or steel have been found in any of the ruins excavated or in any of the collections made by the Spaniards contemporary to the life of these peoples, the native sculptors must nevertheless have possessed them!

One might still consider "Old Civilizations of the New World" a useful book, and compliment Mr. Verrill on his enterprise, had he not undervalued the capacity of his readers in other ways. The thoughtless organization, the small inaccuracies, the wholesale patchwork of technical authorities make the book seem almost a hack job. An owl and the well-known quetzal bird, Mr. Verrill captions Plumed Serpent; a native pictograph of warriors attacking an island, interpreted by Joyce and other authorities as precisely an attack on an island, Mr. Verrill unaccountably titles Feast of Xipe Topec. He states that the famous Dwarf's House at Uxmal in Yucatan is named so because it seems to have been built for supernatural occupants, as the doors are for too small for human beings. As a matter of fact the name is based on a legend, and the doors and windows of the buildings are the size normal in Maya architecture; they may to a hasty eye appear smaller because the lower portion of the building is buried.

Two portions of the book, based on the author's research, are valuable. One reports archaeologically an extremely ancient settlement or "culture" in Panama. The other is titled Where Montezuma Still Rules and is an account of the Aztecs or Nahuas isolated at the time of the conquest in the northwestern hills of the isthmian region. Mr. Verrill lived among these reticent people long enough to become familiar with their habits, their clothing, many of their ideas, and some of their rites. He describes a people so similar in all these things to the Mexicans whom colonial missionaries three hundred years ago proselytized that this chapter might almost be a vivid condensed version of their records.

Mr. Verrill nevertheless remarks that "most of the ancient Aztec customs and observances have been lost or forgotten during the centuries that the tribe has been isolated. . . ." This is typically your cautious scientist's tone, and it contrasts confusingly with the flaunting clamor of the portions referring to the pre-Spanish state of these same people. One assumes that Mr. Verrill could not decide whether to be an archaeologist or a successful journalist, and one concludes that the latter choice was not fully justified.

ANITA BRENNER

An Old-Fashioned Tyrant

Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. A Biography. By Joseph Redlich. The Macmillan Company. $5.

PROFESSOR REDLICH has succeeded remarkably well in writing a life of Francis Joseph without turning the narrative into a history of Austria or of the Europe in which Austria long played a great part. The task was the more difficult because Francis Joseph, more than most rulers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, identified himself with the state so completely that the one is not to be understood at all without the other. Professor Redlich gives enough of the historical setting to enable the reader to keep the place, but his chief concern is with the personal traits of the Emperor and the influence of his personality and ideas of government in making Austria, and the later Dual Monarchy, what they were.

Francis Joseph, born in 1830, became Emperor of Austria in 1848, and died as late as 1916. Into his unprecedentedly long reign was crowded a succession of great events: the revolutions of 1848, the war with Prussia which excluded Austria from the German Confederation, the Franco-Prussian War with its seeds of later conflict, the unification of Italy with its accompanying territorial losses by Austria, and somewhat more than half of the World War. Throughout a period in which political liberalism, in one form or another, was making strong headway in Western Europe, Francis Joseph stood as the most marked embodiment of royal absolutism. Time and circumstances forced him to yield something to constitutionalism, but it was only a concession, and his views remained the same. It was always his will that was to prevail, always the people that were to be governed, not for his pleasure but for their own good as he saw it.

His personal characteristics, as exhibited by Professor Redlich, were such as today have begun to seem remote. "His outstanding intellectual defect was a complete lack of imagination." Although he showed, in his later life, "an extraordinary understanding of men," he was not attracted by personality, and his own thoughts were not profound. "In his youth, and right on up to his death, Francis Joseph was dominated, spiritually and intellectually, by the notion of maintaining intact the might of the dynasty whose head he had become through his accession to the throne, and preserving the foundations of this might, namely, all the territories of his realm, as a unit." Only from this point of view is his foreign policy in particular to be understood. It is not surprising, therefore, that he never knew his people, and "literally never saw or heard a free independent person, not even from among the ranks of the high nobility. He did not even see his ministers often, and then as a rule only on official business." He could speak of the Bohemians as "numbskulls," of the Italians as "calculating and cheats," of the Magyars as "obstinate."

There is something imposing, little as there may be to admire, in the picture of the old Emperor struggling to uphold a theory of government which was fast being discredited. "The unmistakable change in public opinion in the wider sense, both within and without his realm, on his personality," which toward the end of his life brought him popularity and confidence, is associated, in Professor Redlich's mind, with an almost instinctive popular apprehension of the essentially tragic nature of his career. The tragedy, however, was in the imperial idea, hopelessly at odds with the temper of the age. He did not live to see the downfall of his empire, and "succeeded only in maintaining what existed so as to be a burden to his successor." If destiny gave him that mission, he may at least be said to have fulfilled it.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Popular Moralist

A Preface to Morals. By Walter Lippmann. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

I IMAGINE that the most disconcerting thing that can happen to any moralist is suddenly to find himself popular. The warmth with which Mr. Lippmann's "A Preface to Morals" has been received makes him undoubtedly a popular moralist. It is only in part that the phenomenon can be explained by his suavity and charm. There appears to be not much comfort in the first of the two parts into which the argument of the book itself is divided. It is devoted to an exposition of the moral anarchy which has been caused by the decay of religion and the traditional order not only in our personal lives but in the public affairs of business and government. But it becomes obvious soon that our moralist is not addressing himself to the too sophisticated modern, judging from the fact that he is at pains to show at such great length that it is only a personal God who can be real, and only personal immortality that can have meaning. This, indeed, is done with such conviction that one awaits with alarm the apparently inevitable conclusion that we must return to faith. It comes almost as an agreeable surprise when religion is finally rejected as a possible way of life in the modern world.

But this apparent disharmony of purpose which really divides the book against itself is shrewd as far as its ultimate objective is concerned. Its second part is given over to an attempt to reconstruct the shattered foundations of morality in the course of which all the traditional virtues are rediscovered as the truths which all the saints and sages have been teaching for countless generations. However, since authority and the modern spirit are incompatible, these precepts are no longer to be accepted upon authority but for their own sake and are to be observed without regard for possible benefits or our own desires but in a noble spirit of mature "disinterestedness," constituting a modern "humanism" and a "high religion." An evident element of attraction is at once discoverable in a system of morals without authoritarianism, compounded of the ancient and incontrovertible virtues of honor, decency, and loyalty, particularly when it is assumed that they are simple and static instead of constantly changing under different conditions of life. Moreover, the mistake has been avoided of calling this morals without authoritarianism by that forbidding word which has been current for many decades since Darwin, to wit, "ethics."

Mr. Lippmann's adumbration of the moral man as one who has achieved maturity in "disinterestedness" seems at first glance less consistent with the demands of a popular morality. But for the very reason that it implies a severe stoicism it may very well appeal to more conventional minds who have had a background and training in Christian resignation. On the other hand, to freer minds who find themselves confused by the complexity of the Great Society it may well come as a welcome gospel of justification for "uninterestedness." It implies a certain effortlessness particularly when applied, as Mr. Lippmann applies it, less to personal morality than to the public morality of government and business which we are told are evolving toward this ideal because of the very exigencies inherent in the intricate structure of modern life. The implication seems to be that all will be for the best in the most rapidly self-improving of all worlds. But, alas, the problems of personal morality have not always been decided in the same way as those of public morality even in the modern world. Whatever may be true of the future, Big Business, for instance, if one may judge alone from the power trusts, still hardly warrants this extension of disinterestedness. Mr. Lippmann's mood has certainly changed since he wrote "The Phantom Public."

It may be that I am grossly unfair to him. His concept of "disinterestedness" is not fully communicated and perhaps it has implications that I miss. Cogito ergo sum, for instance, is an exalted and self-evident proposition as far as Descartes is concerned but it becomes a huge joke when applied to a Babbitt. If morals without authoritarianism is simply "ethics," I am afraid that moral "disinterestedness" may similarly be taken for the familiar principle of mutual interest in an ethical system. The truth is that the "humanism" Mr. Lippmann talks about is really a cleverly disguised neo Victorianism. Not even his derivation of the disinterested man from the Freudian mature personality can gainsay the fact. It has been said that "A Preface to Morals" represents a shift of interest on Mr. Lippmann's part from politics to morals. The shift, however, is more apparent than real. He is interested in religion primarily because it is a system of divine government which has helped to make human government easier. And it will be recalled that this was precisely the attitude of the Victorians when Darwinism broke in upon their frightened world. But no true modern would dwell upon the decay of religion and the dissolution of the ancestral order, except as a minor prelude to the confusion that has been brought about in his soul. This personal unhappiness is, however, not the theme of Mr. Lippmann. Despite its connection with modernism, "A Preface to Morals" cannot be called a part of that literature of disillusion which future historians no doubt will recognize as symptomatic of the Middle Ages of science.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

Lincoln's Family

The Lineage of Lincoln. By William E. Barton. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $7.50.

THE authentic biographer should be an expert judge of genealogical evidence. As such Dr. Barton has qualified well in matters touching the lineage of Lincoln. This special study embodies his pertinacious research to discover and record a veracious account of Lincoln's forbears, English and American, and to correct errors that have previously been accepted as history. During his several research visits to England he had the assistance of persons who had access to parish and other public records and he made contacts which led to information he desired. He confirms the conclusion of Lea and Hutchinson, whose investigations pointed to Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, England, as Lincoln's English progenitor, who voyaged to Hingham, Massachusetts, about the year 1637. He verifies the previously published information that Samuel Lincoln's grandson, Mordecai, drifted to New Jersey and later to Berks County, Pennsylvania, whence his descendants took root in Virginia. From these came Captain Abraham Lincoln, who went as a pioneer to Kentucky, where his son Thomas and his wife, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, became the parents of President Lincoln.

This authoritative volume is full of interesting collateral information and comment on seventeenth-century Norfolk out of which Samuel Lincoln emerged during the Puritan migrations to America. The author has succeeded in tracing the ancestor of Nancy Hanks Lincoln to Thomas Hanks, a Puritan of Malmsbury, England, who, following his capture by the king's partisans, was deported to Virginia. Here he became a landowner and, according to Dr. Barton's deductions, one of his descendants, Joseph Hanks, married Ann Lee, who belonged to the Lees from whom General Robert E. Lee descended. Since Joseph and Ann Lee Hanks were the grandparents of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee appear to have belonged to the same house divided against itself.

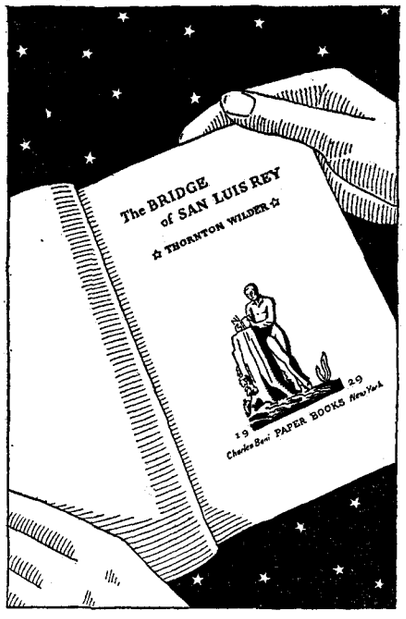
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLEASE ACCEPT *this book free!*

. . . and learn how you can get books never before published

***for only* 42c each**

Article below gives full details. Note coupon . . .



WE offer, free, the book pictured to the right in order to introduce an idea in publishing utterly new to America. It is an idea that brings you fine modern literature at an astonishingly low price.

Briefly, the plan is this. Every month the distinguished Board of Editors pictured below will select a book from the vivid and significant literary work being done today. These books will be books that have never been published before, not reprints. They will be selected from the manuscripts of both American and European authors. Biography, history, fiction and philosophy . . . all will be considered, and only the books of outstanding merit will be chosen. All books will be complete editions. And the names of the Board of Editors are sufficient guarantee that these will be books you want to read.

Early each month you will receive your book by mail. One every month for a whole year. Twelve books for only $5.00. That's less than 42c each!

We are able to offer you good books at such low prices because now, for the first time, the economies of the book club idea are fully passed on to the reader, and because we have eliminated costly cloth binding in favor of attractive paper covers.

And yet, in spite of their low price, these books will be beautiful and durable. Books that you will be proud to own and have on your library shelves. The cover design, end papers and decorations are by Rockwell Kent, internationally famous artist. The beautiful and readable type pages were designed by Elmer Adler of the Pynson Printers.

The only way you can appreciate how fine these books are is to see for yourself. So we have taken a famous, widely discussed novel, printed it as the Paper Books will be printed, and we now offer to send it to you—free.

This famous book FREE

Send us the coupon at the bottom of this page. By return mail we will send you, postpaid, THE BRIDGE OF SAN LUIS REY, by Thornton Wilder, printed as the Paper Books will be printed.

This book has been published before, of course. But let us send it to you so that you may see for yourself how the Paper Books will look.

Keep this volume for 5 days. Read it. Examine it. Note the distinguished cover design by the famous American artist, Rockwell Kent. Note the attractive type dress, the quality of the paper, the perfect bookmaking. You will quickly appreciate the real beauty of the books, as books.

At the end of 5 days send us $5.00 for a charter subscription for the Paper Books, or return the volume to us.

This unusual offer is good for a limited time only. So mail the coupon now!

THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE PAPER BOOKS

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

PADRAIC COLUM

HORACE M. KALLEN

LOUIS UNTERMEYER

LINCOLN COLCORD

Charles Boni **PAPER BOOKS** *New York*

66 FIFTH AVENUE

8 QUICK FACTS ABOUT THE PAPER BOOKS

1. Twelve important new books (*standard size*) for only $5.00.
2. Literary quality guaranteed by a distinguished Board of Editors.
3. American and European books, both fiction and non-fiction.
4. Bound in durable paper covers designed by Rockwell Kent.
5. Typography by Elmer Adler.
6. You own a new book at the ordinary *rental* price of *second-hand* books.
7. Twelve books never before published, delivered to your house postpaid on the day of publication.
8. Free, "The Bridge of San Luis Rey," by Thornton Wilder, if you order now

ALL FOR ONLY $5!

PAPER BOOKS N3
Charles Boni, Publisher
66 Fifth Avenue, New York

Please send me, free, "The Bridge of San Luis Rey" by Thornton Wilder. Within 5 days after receiving the book I will send you $5.00 for a charter subscription for the Paper Books, or return the book.

SEND CHECK WITH COUPON, IF YOU PREFER.

Name.....

Street.....City.....
($5.50 in Canada, $6.00 abroad)

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Barton flays a number of assumptions which certain biographers, notably Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, have employed in their efforts to reconstruct the obscure Hanks family lineage in America. In tracing the Hanks and Lincoln ancestry he finds it necessary to snuff out and bury several fictitious members of both families, a sacrifice he instituted in his life of Lincoln, 1925. One of these interpolations was Mary Shipley, once regarded as the first or second wife of Captain Abraham Lincoln. Dr. Barton is sure that Captain Lincoln had but one wife, whose name was Bathsheba. Other inventions he now discards are Nancy Sparrow, Nancy Shipley Hanks, Elizabeth Shipley Sparrow, and Lucy Shipley Berry. Having definitely, and apparently with good reason, eliminated these fabled Kentucky kinswomen of Lincoln from the biographical account, and having retraced with searching scrutiny the family lineage of both the Hankses and the Lincolns, Mr. Barton has done much to simplify the work of future biographers of Lincoln. LUTHER EMERSON ROBINSON

Lyrics of a Feather

Golden Falcon. By Robert P. Tristram Coffin. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

A Cedar Box. By Robert Nathan. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.

Along Old Trails. By William Haskell Simpson. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

Poems from the Ranges. By Charles Erskine Scott Wood. San Francisco: The Lantern Press. $2.

Thalia. By John Finley. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

MOST of these lyrics which have flown to us together have a quality in common—their slightness. They vary, of course, in technical sufficiency, in subject matter, but all of them are flute tones and not piano. One book only, Mr. Wood's, might be said to be trombone.

Of the poets, Robert P. Tristram Coffin has, in my estimation, most poetry. Mr. Coffin in his earlier work dwelt somewhere in a remote past. He was essentially conservative. Something has happened. He has discovered, it seems, Robert Frost and Frost's "modernism." In "Golden Falcon" he has come out of his past and has attempted Frost's suggestiveness. He falls short of it, usually, because he has nothing of Frost's hardiness and ruggedness. He is still like Blake in choice of tiny subjects for large significance and in some of his flashes of mysticism. But he is without Blake's frightening honesty—the quality which, according to Eliot, is most definitive of Blake. I have no desire to suggest in these comparisons that Mr. Coffin is imitative. He is quite himself. His unique gift in verse writing is a gift of language and super-sensitivity. His subjects are slight, but his language is so perfectly explicit, so delicately musical in sentence composition that his poems are unmistakably his own. He has the precision of a scholar and the leanings of a mystic. The combination makes for a chrysalis of wording through which, in its glasslike clarity, one sees the subject matter growing from grub to butterfly. Often within the last of his consistent quatrains the lines come which set the wings free under sunlight:

> The trees in worship fill the world
> With prayers benign and wise,
> On all the altars of the night
> Burn the moth's cool eyes.

That Mr. Coffin is a sincere artist no one can doubt; that he penetrates a universe delicately but intensely meaningful to himself, is evident. When he says

> I have kept the ancient law,
> I have written what I saw. . . .

no critic would question him. "Golden Falcon" is poetry which describes in perfect taste a religious search through bird and beast and flower for a definition of God.

> Golden, cruel word of God
> Written on the sky!
> Living things are lovely things
> And lovely things must die.

Robert Nathan, known better for his poetic prose, gives us in "The Cedar Box" slighter poetry than that which he defines as prose. He has not the penetration nor the perfection of Mr. Coffin. His themes are more general. But he uses the quatrain aptly and his brief character sketches are interesting; as this, The Mountaineer:

> He came from hills to comfortable plains
> With eyes like scars,
> Weary of mountain sun and mountain rains,
> Weary of stars.
>
> He sought a home. He was a lonely man,
> With mountain ills.
> He found one shelter—in a caravan
> Bound for the hills.

There is economy here and intuition and sensitiveness of introspection. "The Cedar Box" is worth looking into.

William Haskell Simpson has discovered "along old trails" the natural religion and intense coloring of the Pueblo Indians. His poems have been influenced by Pueblo lore and by Mexican melancholy. Both have childishly direct expression. And the chief virtue of Mr. Simpson's work is that he keeps just this childish directness in his poems. The songs which are taken from the Indian are not so successful as interpretations by other well-known poets, such as Alice Corbin Henderson, Lew Sarett, and Mary Austin, but the songs which are Mr. Simpson's interpretation of what he himself has seen in the Spanish-Indian country are more interesting. The forms are free, often too free—this in imitation of Indian song structure and without the exact parallelism which conventionalizes true Indian song. His subject matter is almost entirely Southwestern, personal only in that it is a sensitive man's reaction to that country.

> At Cordova the adobes hang on tight,
> and this you may see, with seeing eyes:
> young hills, that push the sky up;
> old hills, that slide down to a singsong river.
> and this you may see, riding up or down:
> José and Maria, who cross themselves;
> they hug little Jésus Maria closer;
> they stir the fire—
> the smokes ride up with the high-riding hills.

The pictorial quality of the verse makes one wonder if Mr. Simpson may not also be a painter.

Charles Erskine Wood can never be accused of "slightness." He blows a robust horn. He is a Western rancher giving us the West expansively. "Cows bawl," "carrion birds wing," "the sky is above and the desert flood of silence all around," and Mr. Wood's prayer is to be laid on the hill-top close to the sky. His verse is always strong and refreshing wind. It is certainly not always good poetry. His best effects are those of open-air oratory.

The masque has, in the past, been a beautiful poetic form. It is high time that poets turned to it again. But John Finley in his "Thalia" has made the mistake of thinking that a modern masque should be written in archaic language and on an old pastoral theme. His animal characters, his countrymen are the usual figures. The play within the masque has the old theme of the werewolf. The result is that for the modern reader the long poem, despite its evidence of careful workmanship, is dull.

EDA LOU WALTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fiction Briefs

The Pathway. By Henry Williamson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

It is a pity that Mr. Williamson's recent novel has had to endure so much unthinking and rhapsodical praise, particularly from English critics who should know better. His gifts are undeniable and have been on exhibition ever since "The Dreams of Fair Women": a really beautiful and passionate feeling for landscape, weather, and animals; a style, occasionally over-fluent and uncritical of itself, but suffused with an admirable lyric quality; and a terrific sincerity. These talents have never been so finely demonstrated as in "The Pathway"; but there is nothing more added to indicate that Mr. Williamson is a great novelist or that he, as yet, measures up to the laudation which has been showered upon him. The fact that he has attacked a great and simple theme (the revolt of the Christ-Shelley temperament against the barbarism of our times) has perhaps moved critics to applaud his artistry when they should be merely admiring his courage. It requires only a little reflection for one to realize that Mr. Williamson finds it so hard to divorce himself from his hero, Willie Maddison, that his book falls inevitably into sentimentality and a rather painfully obvious self-pity. Further, the temper of his mind is almost exclusively lyric; and the result is that his hero, ostensibly a poet and philosopher, gradually becomes so de-intellectualized as to appear positively sappy. His tirades against the brutalities of civilization are so repetitious and vapid that the reader rapidly tires of his personality; and the last straw is added when the author, in an orgy of teary self-indulgence, sends his hero to a watery grave almost slavishly in accord with the Shelley tradition. It is clear from this over-ambitious work that Mr. Williamson would do well to cultivate his own garden and re-employ himself in the depiction of those scenes of English rural life where he is so thoroughly at home.

The Coat Without Seam. By Maurice Baring. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Reading "The Coat Without Seam" is like looking through an old postal-card album of Europe. Here are pictures of Constantinople with Turks still in national dress, glimpses of St. Petersburg still with its Romanoff name and statutes, scenes from France before the American invasion, and series of Rome without any gentlemen in black shirts posed before the ruins. Conversation among educated people still affords an evening's amusement. The symbol of life comes from Golgotha instead of Vienna, and only an incorrigible young journalist worries about its meaning. The modulated charm of "The Puppet-Show of Memory" is, however, lacking. Like the postal card the style is too concise, too constrained to tell the whole story. There is no invention in the handling of the material. Christopher's experiences are listed like the items of an inventory and are equally uncorrelated. While the variations of the legend of the "Coat" are of interest in themselves they make clumsy transitions between episodes. As in Mr. Baring's other novels the characters are the best part of the book.

Marie Bonifas. By Jacques de Lacretelle. Translated from the French by Winifred Stephens Whale. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

Contrary to much of the comment given this book in America, it is not enough to say that "Marie Bonifas" is another study of perversion. M. de Lacretelle's heroine differs from similar women in recent novels in that her life has a natural fulfilment in spite of her unnatural partiality for members of her own sex. What seems to pass equally unnoticed is that the author's chief concern is with the rule rather than the exception of her character, and that this rule is of such unusual measure that the abnormality, although lending a certain strangeness to her personality, is secondary in comparison. Moreover, we can think of no other writer of the present—unless, perhaps, of another Frenchman, Mauriac—who could set himself such limitations and realize such possibilities without sacrificing any of the essential unity of the individual. It takes mastery in delineation to sustain an intrinsic harmony between the jealous, impulsive child who strikes down her rival with her fist, the anguished, suspicion-stung woman who doubts her own sanity, and the decorous person in black who wears the colored ribbon of an order on her dress. M. de Lacretelle does this and does it with conviction. Marie Bonifas is sound and impressive; astride her old mare, riding alone to make a truce with the German army, she is magnificent.

□ THEATERS □ CINEMA □

Starting This Saturday, August 3rd
DOUBLE-FEATURE PROGRAM
FIRST SHOWING IN AMERICA

"THROUGH THE VIVID/ ACTUAL/
DEATH-DESERTS
WITH SVEN HEDIN OF ASIA"
A HAZARDOUS TWO-YEAR EXPEDITION TO THE UNKNOWN REGIONS OF TIBET *and* MONGOLIA

and on the same program—
"WARNING SHADOWS"
a sequel to "NOSFERATU THE VAMPIRE"

FILM GUILD CINEMA
52 W. 8th St., bet. 5th and 6th Aves. Spring 5095-5090
Continuous Daily—2 P. M. to Midnight.

Last Two Days—Thur., Fri., Aug. 1-2
"LIFE OF BEETHOVEN"—
and on the same program
"So This Is Paris" and "The Prince of Rogues."

GILBERT MILLER
(by arrangement with Maurice Browne)
presents
Journey's End
By R. C. Sheriff
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 West 43rd Street
Eves. at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Bethlehem, Britain, and the Chinese Navy

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

ON July 1 the National Government at Nanking announced that "an agreement has been signed by the Chinese and British Governments providing for the training of Chinese naval cadets in England and for the engagement by the Chinese Government of a British naval mission to assist in the development of the Chinese navy." It was also stated that "the Chinese Government has a comprehensive program for the building of a substantial navy, and that it is its intention to construct certain vessels in Great Britain."

The significance of this announcement will be the better appreciated if one remembers the secret contract of October 21, 1911, whereby the Chinese Government agreed, among other things, to buy from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation all the necessary materials for the naval vessels it might construct. This agreement, though eighteen years old, is intact and valid. As late as 1923 the American Government, in a memorandum addressed to the diplomatic corps at Peking, officially endorsed and supported it, "reserving the eventual rights of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation under its contract of October 21, 1911."

The interesting question is whether the American Government will acquiesce in that section of the new Nanking-London agreement under which Chinese warships are to be built in British yards. If it does its intention, presumably, is to let the Bethlehem agreement lapse, or at least that part of it which obligates the Chinese Government to purchase all materials from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation required in China's naval construction.

Even if the above-mentioned provision of the Bethlehem contract is superseded, in whole or in part, by the British agreement, that contract has another equally important aspect which, provided that the American Government's intention conveyed to the diplomatic body at Peking in 1923 remains unchanged, will continue to be a matter of no small concern to Japan. For the Bethlehem agreement, not only contains a monopolistic provision for the supply of naval materials, but also calls for the construction of a navy yard at Samsah Inlet and a dockyard at Mavee, both near the port of Fuchow in Fukien Province across narrow straits from the Japanese island of Formosa.

The Bethlehem contract was, as I have said, concluded in great secrecy, and its contents have ever since been jealously guarded. But no agreement of such importance and magnitude can be kept entirely secret. In 1911, even before it was actually signed, enough leaked out to cause alarm in Japan. The Japanese newspapers in those days raised a hue and cry against the "American imperialism" evidenced in the Bethlehem project. They were not entirely unreasonable. They recalled that only a decade before the American navy sought to establish a coaling station at exactly the same place where the Bethlehem Steel Corporation now proposed to build a navy yard. In 1900 John Hay, then Secretary of State, asked the Japanese Government if it would object to the American Navy leasing land at Fuchow for the purpose of establishing a coaling station there. Japan, politely but in no uncertain terms, expressed disapproval, and the American Government was considerate enough not to press the matter. The correspondence on this question is now a matter of public record.

But when the Bethlehem agreement was made, the Japanese could not but feel that it was the old scheme in new guise. True, the navy yard and dockyard were to be built by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation for the Chinese Government, but inasmuch as China, of course, had no money to pay for them, they would be controlled by the American corporation which would in turn be influenced by the Navy Department at Washington. I do not say that the suspicion was justifiable or unjustifiable. I only state a fact. In fact, Secretary Hay's sounding of Japan in 1900 and the Bethlehem agreement of 1911 furnished the motive for that clause of Japan's famous or infamous "twenty-one demands," whereby she sought to establish the principle that she should be previously consulted should China need foreign capital for railway or harbor construction in Fukien Province.

That the American Government, at least up to 1923, officially supported and defended before the Powers the Bethlehem agrement of 1911 is also a matter of record. This became known in connection with the arms embargo which was established for China by an international agreement in 1919, and which was removed only three months ago. As the embargo has an important bearing both upon the Bethlehem agreement and the new Sino-British naval agreement, we may take a glance at it.

The embargo agreement was made among the foreign representatives at Peking in 1911, on the initiative of Dr. Paul S. Reisch, then American Minister to China. It provided that in view of the factional strife prevailing in China the Powers should "restrain their subjects and citizens from exporting to or importing into China arms and munitions of war and material destined exclusively for their manufacture until the establishment of a government whose authority is recognized throughout the whole country, and also to prohibit during the above period the delivery of arms and munitions for which contracts have already been made but not executed." This agreement, though couched in general terms, was really aimed at Japan. The Cabinet at Tokyo at that time was headed by General Count Terauchi, who believed that the Government at Peking was China's central authority, recognized as such by the Powers, and that it was best to stabilize it by supplying it with money and munitions of war. Naturally other powers, particularly the United States, were more or less apprehensive. They relished no thought of Peking becoming a tool in Japan's hand. That was the real reason back of the embargo agreement. Whatever the motive, the agreement was just and desirable. It was, and is, best to let China's various factions settle their own disputes.

Soon after the above embargo was established, the Powers concerned also agreed to extend its application to naval armament. This put in abeyance the Bethlehem

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreement of 1911, which had remained unexecuted largely because of China's uncertain condition and partly because of Japan's objection. In July, 1922, and again in January, 1923, the American Government, through its minister to China, notified the diplomatic corps at Peking to the effect that although it "reserved the eventual rights of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation under its contract of October 21, 1911," it would, pending the restoration of a unified government in China, take no steps to execute that contract.

In April of this year Sir Miles Lampson, the British Minister to China, proposed to the Peking diplomatic body that the embargo be removed and that the removal be interpreted to apply not only to arms and munitions of war but also to naval armament. Two months later, like a bolt out of a clear sky, Nanking officially announced the agreement with London as stated in the beginning of this article. Had the British Admiralty already struck the bargain with Nanking when Sir Miles proposed the lifting of the embargo? It looks as though the Admiralty has stolen a march on the Bethlehem Steel in the matter of supplying China with naval armament. Will Washington act?

As for China, she will gain nothing, except a negative gain of more foreign debts, by building a navy before she has put her own house in a little better order. One feels that China's internal condition, which caused the Powers to adopt an embargo agreement in 1919, has not materially changed. Meanwhile, the American Government should, it seems to me, remove the injunction it has persistently placed upon the publication of the Bethlehem agreement, for secrecy, however well intentioned, breeds suspicion which may in the light of publicity prove unfounded.

Do you know your

MIDDLETOWN

by Robert S. and H. M. Lynd

"One of the most disconcerting books published in years came out a few months ago under the title "Middletown." "It is a carefully documented, scientific scrutiny of the way life is lived in a typical American community,"—said Raymond B. Fosdick, beginning his Commencement Address delivered at Smith College and printed in the *N. Y. Times* Special Feature Section.

"The most authoritative book ever written on an American industrial community,"—says Stuart Chase in an article in the current issue of *Harper's*. $5.00

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

383 Madison Avenue *New York*

The

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

of

GUY de MAUPASSANT

These famous letters were written to Gustave Flaubert in the years 1878-1880, during which time the rising young French author published his first book of verse. Their extreme wit and daring show clearly the tendencies that gave birth to his genius as one of the world's foremost writers.

His aspirations, enthusiasms and youthful passions so clearly portrayed within the paragraphs of these letters give us an intimate picture of this unusual young man whom nations were to honor in later years.

We have established the authenticity of these letters beyond a doubt, and now offer them to you complete in the coming issues of Plain Talk.

SIMPLY MAIL US THE COUPON BELOW!

Plain Talk is sold everywhere on the newsstands at 35c. a copy, but as a special offer to those who want these hitherto unpublished letters in their libraries, we are offering 5 issues of Plain Talk **all for a single dollar.** These will contain Guy de Maupassant's letters complete. Send us your dollar with your name and address on the coupon below! Do it now. We would like to know just how many we shall have to print.

PLAIN TALK, Inc.
Dept. 1108, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

I enclose $1 for the next five issues of Plain Talk ($1.75 if purchased at the newsstands), containing the Unpublished Letters of Guy de Maupassant.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER

Trout Lake Camp

An Ideal Camp for Adults

On Trout Lake, In the Adirondacks

Tennis Golfing
Horseback Canoeing
Handball Dancing
Basketball Hiking
Baseball Fishing

Splendid Social and Athletic Staff

Unsurpassed Cuisine

Write for Souvenir Booklet

City Office
489 Fifth Ave., Room 409
Tel. Vanderbilt 4197

P. O. Lake George, New York
Tel. Bolton 96

IDEAL OF SMALL CAMPS

ECHO LAKE TAVERN
A Camp for Adults in the ADIRONDACKS
WARRENSBURG N. Y.

5 MILES ABOVE LAKE GEORGE

A Glorious Vacation

Seven clay tennis courts
GOLF—FISHING
Capacity limited to 150

N. Y. Office 33 W. 42 St.
PENnsylvania 8313
R. B. NUDELL
A. B. SILVER

For a glorious SEPTEMBER vacation in the Heart of the Adirondacks

TIMBERLAND

Pottersville New York

Where Congenial Folk Gather

Accommodations in Bungalows—modern in every respect.

Excellent Sport Facilities

TENNIS — HANDBALL — GOLF — SADDLE HORSES — WATER SPORTS. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES and DANCING.

Directors — *N. Y. Office*
ESTHER R. KESSLER — 33 WEST 42ND ST.
MORRIS HARKAVY — PENNSYLVANIA 7663

For reservations apply to N. Y. office.

Booklet on request

PEP!

ON TROUT LAKE

3 miles of crystal-clear water.

* * *

Accommodations offer every modern convenience.

* * *

Every sport encouraged by splendid facilities.

* * *

Write for Souvenir Booklet

Unsurpassed Cuisine, Dietary Laws.

SCOPUS

An Adult Camp of Distinction
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
P. O. LAKE GEORGE, N. Y.
City Address
11 WEST 42nd STREET
Longacre 3411

Spend Your Vacation on the shores of the Queen of Mountain Lakes

WUNNISHAUNTA

Camp for Young Men & Women
ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE

Superb location at "America's first summer resort." All the most desirable camp features. The Wunnishaunta Booklet, sent free, includes pictures of camp activities, auto routes, train and airplane information.

MRS. SADIE BRICKMAN, *Hostess*
WOLFEBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE

PIONEER LODGE

A Summer Camp for Adults

Near Thousand Islands

Limited to Seventy-five . . Has all Conveniences in Lodge and Bungalows . . All Sports . . Boating on Large Lake . . Golf Within Fifteen minutes' Walk . . Rate $30 per Week.

Accessible over night by N. Y. Central

STAR LAKE, N. Y. — N. Y. CITY OFFICE
ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY — 977 FOX STREET DAYTON 8752

UNCAS LODGE

UNCASVILLE, CONN.
A Camp for Adults

At Uncas Lodge you will find new charm and congeniality—a rustic camp with all modern facilities—165 acres of woodland and winding brooks all bordering twin lakes—excellent clay tennis courts—cement handball court—basketball—rowing—swimming in crystal-clear waters—dancing—golf within 10 minutes. Additional accommodations for couples. Weekly rates, $25 July; $28 August. Delightful overnight sail via L. I. Sound—$2.88.

Let us send you our booklet.

City Tel.: Ambassador 4684 evenings | Camp Tel.: Norwich 1858 ring 5

WOCOLONA A Workers' Cooperative CAMP

On Beautiful Lake Walton, Monroe, N. Y. 50 miles from N. Y. Modern bungalows, running water, electricity. Lectures, sports, music and dancing. Rates $27 per week—$5.50 per Day. $23 per week in tents. Round trip ticket through our office $2.00 and save $1.60.

Special Low Rates to Members.

COMMONWEALTH COOPERATIVE

799 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY
Room 524

N. Y. Office Phone: Stuyvesant 6015
Camp Phone: Monroe 89

For Your Summer Recreation

The Connecticut hills with their little-traveled roads and trails here afford delightful opportunities for riding and tramping. We keep good saddle horses, and give instruction. Swimming. Environment adapted for rest and concentrated work. Only 1½ hours from New York. Make reservations now for the summer.

TOPSTONE FARM

Mail address: Ridgefield, Conn.
Tel. Ridgefield 648

SECOR LAKE LODGE

on beautiful Secor Lake, N. Y.

One of the few large lakes within 50 miles of New York. Well stocked with game fish.

An ideal summer camp with excellent facilities for
BATHING, BOATING, FISHING, TENNIS

$30 Weekly—Weekends $6 daily

Particular attention paid to menu
Guests met at Lake Mahopac station, N. Y. Central. *Write or phone for booklet*

SECOR LAKE LODGE
Mahopac Falls, N. Y.
Mahopac 175F3 City: *Riverside 9499*

Dance! Laugh! Play!
In this glorious Mountain-Lake country.
Special events all season in celebration of our 10th anniversary.
Camp Sports in a Setting of Hotel Comforts
Write for descriptive booklet "N"

NEW MODERN BUILDINGS

KENMORE

North White Lake, N. Y.
Station: Liberty
N. Y. Office: 182 Fifth Ave.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED